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THE BRAZEN HOUSE

A STUDY OF THE VESTIBULE OF THE IMPERIAL PALACE OF CONSTANTINOPLE

BY

CYRIL MANGO

With an Appendix by
† ERNEST MAMBOURY

København 1959
i kommission hos Ejnar Munksgaard

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Preface

This work is based on a dissertation submitted to the University of Paris in 1953 under the title *Recherches sur le palais impérial de Constantinople. La Chalcè et ses abords.* Since very few dissertations, in the form in which they are presented, deserve a wider public than the prescribed panel of three examiners, I hasten to assure the reader that in the intervening years I have not only translated and revised my original text, but have also incorporated into it much new material and have modified some of my previous conclusions. The otiose matter that is commonly added to doctoral theses to increase their bulk has been, of course, excised.

A work that has been so long in the making has naturally profited from the advice of many scholars. It is my pleasant duty to thank, first of all, Prof. R. GUILLAND of the Sorbonne whose own studies have contributed so much to our knowledge of the Great Palace of Constantinople. My colleagues at Dumbarton Oaks have also been most helpful, in particular Prof. E. KITZINGER, Prof. P. A. UNDERWOOD and Mr. R. L. VAN NICE who has kindly allowed me to use his drawings of the excavations made in 1939 in the courtyard of St. Sophia and has given me the benefit of his unequalled knowledge of the great cathedral. Mr. HJALMAR TORP has also been of great assistance during his stay at Dumbarton Oaks. The contribution to this study made by the late ERNEST MAMBOURY is explained on pp. 19—20.

Many of the illustrations have been provided by the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection. The Byzantine Institute Inc. has supplied fig. 23 of the Deesis mosaic of Kahriye Djami and fig. 28, photographed for me by Mr. L. MAJEWSKI. The Nationalmuseum of Stockholm has kindly permitted me to

reproduce two of the hitherto unpublished drawings by Cornelius Loos (figs. 30 and 32).

The publication of this work in the *Arkaeologisk-kunsthistoriske Meddelelser* has been made possible through the initiative of Dr. E. Dyggve and Prof. C. Høeg to whom, as well as to the Royal Danish Academy, I tender my most grateful thanks.

Dumbarton Oaks
Washington, D. C.

November 1958

Abbreviations

AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
Anal. Boll.	*Analecta Bollandiana*
Antoniades, Ἔκφρασις	E. M. Antoniades, Ἔκφρασις τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας, 3 vols, Leipzig — Athens, 1907—09
Arch. Anz.	*Archäologischer Anzeiger*
ASS	*Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
Beljaev, *Byzantina*	D. F. Beljaev, *Byzantina*, I—III (*Zapiski Imper. Russk. Archeol. Obščestva*, V [1891] and VI [1893]; *Zapiski Klass. Otdel. Imper. Russk. Archeol. Obšč.*, IV [1907])
BHG	*Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, ed. F. Halkin (= *Subsidia hagiographica*, 8a), 3 vols, Brussels, 1957
BSL	*Byzantinoslavica*
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
Cer.	Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, ed. Reiske, Bonn, 1829 (quoted by page of this ed.); ed. A. Vogt, *Le Livre des Cérémonies*, 2 vols. of text and 2 vols. of commentary (unfinished), Paris (*Collection G. Budé*), 1935—39
DACL	Cabrol — Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*
Diegesis	Διήγησις περὶ τῆς ἁγίας Σοφίας in *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, ed. Th. Preger, fasc. I, Leipzig (Teubner), 1901
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
ΕΕΒΣ	Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
EO	*Echos d'Orient*
Hesychius	Hesychii Illustrii, Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως in *Script. orig. CP*, ed. Preger, fasc. I
IRAIK	*Izvestija Russkago Archeologičeskago Instituta v Konstantinopole*
Itin. russes	M^me^ B. de Khitrowo, *Itinéraires russes en Orient*, Geneva, 1889

Janin, *CP byzantine*	R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine, développement urbain et répertoire topographique,* Paris, 1950
Janin, *Eglises et monastères*	*La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin,* I: *Le siège de Constantinople,* t. 3: *Les églises et les monastères* par R. Janin, Paris, 1953
JÖBG	*Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft*
ΚΕΦΣ	Ὁ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος
Mansi	I. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae historica*
Parastaseis	Παραστάσεις σύντομοι χρονικαί in *Script. orig. CP,* ed. Preger, fasc. I
Patria	Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, *ibid.,* fasc. II
PG	J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca*
PL	J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina*
REB	*Revue des études byzantines*
REG	*Revue des études grecques*
St. biz.	*Studi bizantini e neoellenici*
Synax. CP	*Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris, Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae,* ed. H. Delehaye, Brussels, 1902
Theoph. Cont.	Theophanes continuatus, ed. Bekker, Bonn, 1838
Viz. Vrem.	*Vizantijskij Vremennik.*

Original Sources

The following authors and works are quoted after the *Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae* (Bonn, 1828—97):

Agathias; Cantacuzenus; Cedrenus; Chronicon Paschale; Cinnamus; Codinus, *De officialibus*; Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De Cerimoniis*; Ducas; Ephraem; Genesius; Glycas; Nic. Gregoras; Leo Diaconus; Leo Grammaticus; Malalas; Manasses; Nicetas Choniata; Pachymeres; Scriptores post Theophanem (this includes Theoph. Cont., Pseudo-Symeon and Georgius Monachus); Zonaras.

The following after the Teubner collection:

Georgius Monachus (ed. De Boor); Ioannes Lydus, *De magistratibus* and *De mensibus* (ed. Wünsch); Nicephorus, *Opuscula historica* (ed. De Boor); Procopius (ed. Haury); Theophylactus Simocatta (ed. De Boor).

The following after the Guillaume Budé collection:

Anna Comnena (ed Leib); Psellus, *Chronographie* (ed. Renauld).

Georgius Hamartolus, *Chronicon*, ed. Muralt, St. Petersburg, 1859.

Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae, ed. Seeck, *Notitia Dignitatum*, Berlin, 1876.

Suidas, ed. Ada Adler, Leipzig, 1928—38.

Theodosius Melitenus, *Chronographia*, ed. Tafel, Munich, 1859.

Theophanes, ed. De Boor, Leipzig, 1883—85.

Zosimus, ed. Mendelssohn, Leipzig, 1887.

Since frequent reference is made to the *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, ed. Th. Preger (this supersedes all previous editions), it is important to note that this collection contains the following works:

1. A fragment of Hesychius (middle of the sixth century) entitled Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.

2. The *Parastaseis*, compiled in the reign of Constantine V (741—75). The more precise date (742—46) recently advanced by G. Millet (BCH, LXX [1946], 393—402) does not appear to be convincing. A somewhat later version of the same text was published by M. Treu, *Excerpta anonymi byzantini*, Programm, Ohlau, 1880.

3. The *Diegesis* or "Narration concerning St. Sophia" of the eighth or ninth century. See Preger in BZ, X (1901), 455—76.

4. The *Patria* (previously ascribed to Georgius Codinus), compiled *ca.* 995. This work is divided by the editor into four books. Books I and II are based largely on Hesychius, the *Parastaseis* and Treu's *anonymus*. The source of Book III (περὶ κτισμάτων) has not been found. Book IV is an adaptation of the *Diegesis*. Banduri (*Imperium Orientale*, Paris, 1711) published a different redaction of the *Patria* compiled under Alexius I (1081—1118). It is distinguished by the fact that the order of the paragraphs conforms to a topographical division of the city.

For a discussion of these texts the reader is referred to Preger's preface to each fascicule of the *Scriptores*, and his *Beiträge zur Textgeschichte der* Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, (Munich, 1895).

Russian Pilgrims

It ought to be stressed that M^me^ de Khitrowo's French translation (*Itin. russes*), which continues to be used by nearly all Western scholars, is often seriously misleading. The Russian texts may be found in the following editions:

1. Antony of Novgorod (1200), ed. Chr. Loparev, *Pravoslavnyj Palestinskij Sbornik*, no. 51 (1899).

2. Stephen of Novgorod (1349), ed. M. N. Speranskij, *Iz starinnoj Novgorodskoj literatury XIV veka*, Leningrad, 1934. Cf. I. Ševčenko in *Südostforschungen*, XII (1953), 165—75.

3. Ignatius of Smolensk (1389—90), ed. S. V. Arsen'ev, *Pravosl. Palest. Sbornik*, no. 12 (1887).

4. Anonymous pilgrim. Two mutually complementary redactions are known: a) the *Skazanie*, ed. Speranskij, *op. cit.*; b) the *Beseda o Caregrade* in dialogue form, ed. N. L. Majkov, *Sbornik Otdel. Russk. Jazyka i Slovesnosti Imper. Akad. Nauk*, LI no. 4 (1890). I have tried to show that this pilgrim came to Con-

stantinople in 1390 (BZ, XLV [1952], 380—85). M^me^ de Khitrowo's translation represents the *Beseda*, omitting the dialogue elements, and is particularly unreliable. Her dates for this pilgrim (1424—53) are entirely unsupported.

5. Alexander (*ca.* 1395) in *Polnoe Sobranie Russkich Letopisej*, IV (1848), 357—58.

6. Zosima (*ca.* 1420), ed. Loparev, *Pravosl. Palest. Sbornik*, no. 24 (1889).

Introduction

The Imperial Palace of Constantinople has, over the past hundred years, exercised a strong fascination upon students of Byzantine antiquities. This continued interest needs no detailed justification. Not only was the residence of the *basileis* the background against which a great portion of Byzantine history was enacted; it was also a monumental complex which must have contained the most perfect achievements of Byzantine architecture and decoration, and which other mediaeval potentates strove to imitate. But aside from its importance as a monument, the Imperal Palace also arouses our curiosity by presenting to us an unusually intricate puzzle. To re-create this destroyed palace out of a thousand little pieces of textual evidence, with practically no help from archaeological discoveries, is an irresistible challenge to scholarly ingenuity.

This palace, the Great or Sacred Palace as it came to be called, was begun by Constantine I who chose for it a sloping site within the ancient city of Byzantium, washed on one side by the Sea of Marmora, and limited on the land side by the public buildings of Septimius Severus, namely the Hippodrome and the Baths of Zeuxippus, as well as by a big square called at that time the Tetrastoon. For eight hundred years the Byzantine emperors lived in this palace. It was rebuilt, altered, enlarged and embellished countless times to suit different needs and tastes. The result was a vast and irregular agglomeration of reception and banqueting halls, pavilions, churches and chapels, residential quarters, baths, colonnades, sporting grounds and gardens, all enclosed within a strong wall; in fact, something not unlike the Turkish Seraglio of Istanbul or the Moscow Kremlin.

The last addition to the Great Palace was made, as far as we know, in the twelfth century. This was, strangely enough, a building in the Islamic style. At that time the emperors began to abandon the Great Palace, which they must have found somewhat chilling and old-fashioned. Its splendour was, however, but little impaired, and it continued to be used for ceremonial purposes. With the claims of a tradition eight centuries old, it still remained the official residence of the emperor.

In 1204 a Latin ruler took possession of the Great Palace. In the hands of the Crusaders it suffered seriously, and was stripped of its precious ornaments and the profusion of sacred relics it contained. It passed in a highly ruined state to the restored Empire of the Palaeologi.

During the last two hundred years of Byzantium the emperors lived in the palace of Blachernae on the Golden Horn. The Great Palace could not be restored since no resources were available for this, and fell into even greater disrepair. Monks found a tranquil retreat within its ruined precincts, while the common people, unconcerned with the glories of the past, used the dilapidated buildings as latrines[1].

The buildings that did survive, and there were many of them, were swiftly swept away after the Turkish conquest. They were doubtless used as a quarry for building materials. By 1500, the Great Palace was no more. It was a deserted plot of ground next to the shapeless ruins of what was once the Hippodrome. Then, gradually, it became covered with the sinuous streets, the wooden houses and enclosed gardens of an oriental town. Even students of history found it hard to recognize in a Mohammedan quarter the splendid palace of the Caesars.

Byzantine authors have left us no complete description of the Great Palace. Numberless allusions to its exist, however, in the pages of historians, chroniclers, hagiographers, poets, as well as foreign travellers and pilgrims. Of these many are brief and vague, but when carefully collected and scrutinized, give us a picture, however dim, of what the Great Palace once was. Foremost among our sources is the *Book of Ceremonies* (*De Cerimoniis*) compiled by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, and first published in 1751—54. In laying down the exact protocol for every cele-

[1] Nicephorus Gregoras, I, 568.

bration, reception and procession, this work allows us to follow the route of emperors and courtiers from one part of the palace to another, and while architectural description is almost entirely lacking, we are at least enabled to establish the order in which different buildings were arranged, and to draw some inferences concerning their form, size and decoration.

The specialized study of the Great Palace is now almost a century old. Apart from the pioneer works of Pierre Gilles (Gyllius)[2] who explored the site with remarkable perseverance (1544—50)[3], and Du Cange who never saw Constantinople, yet wrote about it a monumental book that is still a classic[4], apart also from the confused description by Skarlatos Byzantios[5], serious study of the Great Palace on the basis of the *Book of Ceremonies* began with the excellent monograph by Jules Labarte[6], a work of great ingenuity and clarity, though vitiated by a mistaken interpretation of many texts, by ignorance of Byzantine architecture and an insufficient knowledge of the site. In 1877 Henry Montucci, a man of varied interests who was equally conversant with the construction of English and German hexameters, astronomy and algebra, and was furthermore engaged on a novel about Byzantine life in the ninth century, proceeded to alter some of Labarte's theories and to publish a "rectified" plan as well as hypothetical sections of the palace in a pamphlet that has curiosity value only[7]. The next book on the Great Palace was by the Greek physician G. A. Paspates, an assiduous student of Byzantine topography and author of the excellent Βυζαντιναὶ μελέται (Constantinople, 1877). Paspates had the advantage of a thorough acquaintance with the site and was privileged to witness in 1871 the construction of the railway line which crosses the whole palace region; he was, however, more confused than aided by the ruins he saw, and only succeeded in misleading

[2] *De topographia Constantinopoleos et de illius antiquitatibus libri quatuor*, Lyon, 1561, lib. II, cap. xviii.

[3] On the dates of his stay in Constantinople, see E.-T. Hamy, "Le père de la zoologie française, Pierre Gilles, d'Albi", *Nouvelles archives du Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle*, 4e série, t. 2, Paris 1900, 14—21.

[4] *Constantinopolis Christiana, seu descriptio urbis Constantinopolitanae*, Paris, 1680, lib. II, cap. iv, 112—125.

[5] Ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολις, vol. I, Athens, 1851, 188—222.

[6] *Le palais impérial de Constantinople et ses abords*, Paris, 1861.

[7] *Les coupes du palais des empereurs byzantins au Xe siècle (Mémoire présenté . . . à l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres dans sa séance du 29 Juin 1877)*, Paris, 1877.

scholars by his monograph[8]. In 1891 there appeared two works on the Great Palace, one by Von Reber, the first to base a reconstruction on archaeological parallels[9], the other by Beljaev who went through the texts with remarkable thoroughness and pointed out, one by one, the errors of Labarte and Paspates, without, however, venturing to offer a new reconstruction of his own[10]. In 1907, in the first volume of his monumental work on St. Sophia, Antoniades dealt with the vestibule of the palace and drew up a new plan which is not without merit[11]. Further examination of the site, coupled with a professional knowledge of Byzantine architecture and a wider acquaintance with literary sources, enabled Jean Ebersolt to publish in 1910 a comprehensive work that has since become standard[12]. A notable feature of Ebersolt's reconstruction is the assumption that Constantine's original palace closely resembled Diocletian's palace at Spalato. Upon the appearance of Ebersolt's book, J. B. Bury, who had for a long time taken a lively interest in the Great Palace[13], suggested in a well-reasoned article[14] a different arrangement of the palatine buildings, which partly prevailed in the restored plan appended by A. Vogt to his new edition of the *Book of Ceremonies*[15]. For the sake of completeness, we may also mention the somewhat amateurish speculations on the development of the palace by Zanotti[16].

[8] Τὰ βυζαντινὰ ἀνάκτορα, Athens, 1885. English translation by William Metcalfe, *The Great Palace of Constantinople*, London, 1893.

[9] *Der Karolingische Palastbau* — I. *Die Vorbilder* (*Abh. d. hist. Cl. d. Königl. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, XIX), München, 1891.

[10] *Byzantina*, I, St. Petersburg, 1891; II, 1893.

[11] Ἔκφρασις τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας, vol. I, Athens — Leipzig, 1907, 45 sq. and pl. XVI.

[12] *Le grand palais de Constantinople et le Livre des Cérémonies*, Paris, 1910.

[13] See his remarks on the works of Paspates and Beljaev in the *Scottish Review*, XXIII (1894), 251—269, and his appraisal of Ebersolt's monograph in the *Classical Review*, XXV (1911), 175—177. See also his paper, "The Covered Hippodrome", *Le Muséon*, 3ème série, t. I, no. 1 (1915), 106—115.

[14] "The Great Palace", BZ, XXI (1912), 210—225.

[15] *Le Livre des Cérémonies*, I, *Commentaire*, Paris, 1935. This is the most up-to-date reconstruction of the Great Palace. Vogt, whose great merit was to have discovered, together with A. Piganiol, the true position of the Cathisma, is the author of the following articles on the palace: "A propos des fouilles de M. Baxter à Istanbul — une hypothèse", EO, XXXV (1936), 436—441; "Encore Mélétè", *Byzantion*, XIII (1938), 193—196; "L'Hippodrome 'couvert'", EO, XXXVII (1938), 23—35; "Notes de topographie byzantine," EO, XXXIX (1940), 78—90.

[16] *Autour des murs de Constantinople*, Paris, 1911.

The archaeological exploration of the site, begun by Ebersolt and his colleague A. Thiers[17], was continued by the late Ernest Mamboury who, in the course of many years, measured and sketched all the scattered remains of the palace that appeared after two great fires had swept the whole region in 1912 and 1913[18]. In 1935 excavations were started in the centre of the palace area by the University of St. Andrews on behalf of the Walker Trust. Almost from the outset, the excavators chanced upon a magnificent mosaic pavement which formed the border of a great peristyle. Work was stopped in 1938, and the report, delayed by the war, appeared only in 1947[19]. In spite of the sensational finds, these excavations, carried out somewhat at random, have not appreciably enriched our knowledge of the topography and history of the palace. Field work was resumed in 1952 under the experienced direction of Prof. D. Talbot Rice and continued until 1954. Further portions of the mosaic pavement as well as a complex of massive substructures and remains of an apsed hall were brought to light, but it has not been established what part of the palace these belonged to[20].

Meanwhile, several further studies of the Great Palace based on literary evidence have been published by Prof. R. Guilland who, following the death of A. Vogt, has undertaken the difficult task of completing the new edition and translation of the *Book of Ceremonies*. Prof. Guilland has contributed many novel and interesting conclusions, and it may be hoped that his scattered articles on the Great Palace[21] will be collected in one volume.

[17] "Les ruines et les substructions du Grand Palais des empereurs byzantins," Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres, *Comptes rendus*, 1913, 31—38; Ebersolt, *Mission archéologique de Constantinople*, Paris, 1921, 28—37.

[18] E. Mamboury and Th. Wiegand, *Die Kaiserpaläste von Konstantinopel*, Berlin, 1934. This work lacks a general plan of the site, which appeared, though on too reduced a scale, in A. M. Schneider's *Byzanz*, (Istanbuler Forschungen, 8), Berlin, 1936, pl. 10. See also Mamboury's survey of archaeological findings in the palace area, "Les fouilles byzantines à Istanbul," *Byzantion*, XI (1936), 237—38, 241—46, 273—74, 281—82; XIII (1938), 302—05, 306—07; XXI (1951), 425—26.

[19] *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors*, Oxford, 1947.

[20] D. Talbot Rice in the *Illustrated London News*, 13 December 1952, 996—97, and 12 March 1955, 462—63; *id.*, "Excavations in the Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors Carried out in 1952," Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Θ' Διεθνοῦς Βυζαντ. Συνεδρίου (Ἑλληνικά, Suppl. 9), Athens, 1955, 468—73; *id.*, "Les mosaïques du Grand Palais des empereurs byzantins à Constantinople," *Revue des arts*, V (1955), 159—66; *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors, Second Report*, ed. by D. Talbot Rice, Edinburgh, 1958.

[21] "Autour du Livre des Cérémonies. L'Augusteus, la Main d'Or et l'Onopodion," REB, VI (1948), 167—80; Περὶ τὴν Βασίλειον Τάξιν Κωνσταντίνου Ζ' τοῦ

A popular book on the Palace of Constantinople lately published in Mexico[22] need not detain us.

Such are the principal works that have dealt with the Great Palace, and it has been observed on many occasions that further armchair research can only lead to further unprovable hypotheses, until a definitive solution of the problem is reached by means of excavations. This view is indeed justified, though only in part. The project of excavating the whole palace area, which has been proposed and postponed time and time again, does not appear to be approaching its realization. Indeed, as the site is being increasingly built over, the possibility of an extensive excavation even of those areas that are not occupied by historic Turkish monuments seems to be becoming more remote. But even if we are so fortunate as to see the remains of the palace brought to light in our lifetime, we must not imagine that every problem will be automatically solved. I have no doubt that the ruins that will be discovered one day will bear little resemblance to the reconstructions proposed by scholars, including my own. It will be found necessary to go back to the texts, and not only those conveniently translated in Unger's and Richter's handbooks[23].

The study presented here deals only with a part of the palace, its vestibule, called the Chalkê (ἡ Χαλκῆ) or Bronze House. It

Πορφυρογεννήτου. Ἡ Χαλκῆ καὶ τὰ πέριξ αὐτῆς, ΕΕΒΣ, XVIII (1948), 153—72; "The Hippodrome at Byzantium," *Speculum*, XXIII (1948), 676—82; Μελέται περὶ τοῦ Ἱπποδρόμου τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ΕΕΒΣ, XX (1950), 33—55; "A propos du Livre des Cérémonies . . . Le Delphax," *Mélanges H. Grégoire*, II (= *Ann. de l'Inst. de phil. et d'hist. orient. et slaves*, X, 1950), 293—306; "Constantinople byzantine. Le Boucoléon. La plage du Boucoléon," BSL, X (1949), 16—27; "Le palais du Boucoléon," BSL, XI (1950), 61—71; "Le port palatin du Boukoléon," *ibid.*, 187—206; "Etudes sur le palais du Boukoléon," BSL, XII (1951), 210—37; "Le palais du Boukoléon. L'assassinat de Nicéphore II Phokas," BSL, XIII (1952), 101—36; "L'Hippodrome de Byzance," *Miscellanea G. Galbiati*, III (= *Fontes Ambrosiani*, XXVII, 1951), 205—18; "L'Hippodrome. L'escalier privé en colimaçon," etc., JÖBG, II (1952), 3—12; "La Basilique, la Bibliothèque et l'Octogone de Byzance," *Mélanges d'histoire littéraire et de bibliographie offerts à Jean Bonnerot*, Paris, 1954, 97—107; "Les portes de l'Hippodrome," JÖBG, IV (1955), 51—85; "Etudes sur le Grand Palais de Constantinople," Ἑλληνικά, XIV (1955), 106—22; "Etudes sur Constantinople byzantine. Le Thomaïtès et le Patriarcat," JÖBG, V (1956), 27—40; "Autour du Livre des Cérémonies. Le Grand Palais. Les quartiers militaires," BSL, XVII (1956), 58—97; "Le Grand Palais sacré de Byzance. Le palais de la Magnaure," ΕΕΒΣ, XXVII (1957), 63—74; "Etudes sur l'Hippodrome de Byzance. Le palais du Kathisma," BSL, XVIII (1957), 39—76; "Etudes sur l'Hippodrome de Constantinople," JÖBG, VI (1957), 25—44.

[22] Salvador Miranda, *El Gran Palacio Sagrado de Bizancio*, Mexico, 1955.

[23] F. W. Unger, *Quellen der byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte*, Vienna, 1878; J. P. Richter, *Quellen der byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte*, Vienna, 1897.

is fitting, after all, that we should approach the emperor's residence through the front door. What lay beyond the vestibule can be learned by referring to the works quoted above. The plan of this study has been to assemble all the information bearing on the Chalkê, the historical, topographical, archaeological, art-historical and legendary, in order to give a complete picture of this monument and of its significance. The topographical section (chapters II and III) is naturally the most tentative, and may be infirmed by future archaeological findings. Hence the new reconstruction presented here is purely hypothetical, although it does, I believe, conform more closely to our textual evidence than previous reconstructions have done. In order to fix the situation of the Chalkê as exactly as possible, I have tried to determine its relation to other neighbouring buildings, some of which can be accurately located, and thus to proceed from the known to the unknown. Two factors have aided this search. The Chalkê was connected by means of a portico to an adjunct of St. Sophia called the Holy Well, whose situation, though correctly surmised by some scholars, has not so far been agreed upon. A discussion of several texts that had not been used in this connection has made it possible to determine the true position of the Holy Well which, in turn, helps to place the Chalkê. Another new factor has been the discovery that the chapel of Our Saviour that was attached to the Chalkê survived until the beginning of the last century, that it was visited and described by many European travellers, and appears on old drawings as well as on the first accurate map of Constantinople made in the year 1786. Since the situation of the chapel can thus be determined, and the chapel stood in close connection to the Chalkê, we have a further piece of evidence regarding the position of the latter. These conclusions, if found acceptable, will have considerable bearing upon the configuration of the other parts of the Great Palace which, however, I do not propose to discuss here.

Over the gate of the Chalkê was placed an image of Christ which lent a quasi-sacred character to the building. This image, rich in legends and historical associations, one of the most famous of the Byzantine world, has not received the attention that is due to it. Its history and a discussion of its iconography, to the extent that this can be judged from late copies, will be

found in Chapter IV. As we dwell on this icon, on the triumphal mosaics which Justinian placed in the dome of the Chalkê, on the chapel of the Saviour, the burial-place of John I Tzimiskes and the repository of famous relics, we may perhaps obtain a more complete picture of the Brazen House than from the meagre vestiges that may appear some day from the soil of Istanbul.

This study had been substantially completed when I received by way of posthumous bequest the papers of Ernest Mamboury († September 23, 1953). Among a mass of other material bearing on archaeological discoveries in Istanbul, I found some notes and sketches affecting the general area of this study. They can be classified under the following headings: 1) findings made in 1925 and thereafter in the course of laying down sewers along the trolley-car line, i. e. in the region of the ancient Basilica, Milion and Mesê. These have been briefly described by Mamboury in his survey of archaeological work in Istanbul[24], and appear, though on too small a scale, in his general plan of the Great Palace area[25]; 2) finds made in March 1934, when sewers were installed for an underground toilet at the north end of the Hippodrome. A description of these finds accompanied by a sketch plan has been published by Mamboury[26]. 3) Some minor discoveries made in December 1939 behind the ticket-office of St. Sophia. 4) Ruins unearthed in September and October 1952 when sewers were laid for the new Palace of Justice across part of the Hippodrome, the baths of Zeuxippus and the presumed area of the Milion. Since items 3 and 4 have not, to my knowledge, been recorded in print, I have thought it useful to place them in an appendix, leaving them, except for some minor editing, in Mamboury's own words. Some explanation is necessary regarding the plans. Mamboury's notes were usually taken hurriedly on the spot, in circumstances that were adverse to scientific accuracy. Only their author could have made complete sense out of a jumble of pencil scribblings and rough diagrams that were often left without any identification. I have done my utmost to coordinate this confused material and believe that the plans given

[24] *Byzantion*, XI (1936), 252—53.
[25] Schneider, *Byzanz*, pl. 10.
[26] *Arch. Anz.*, XLIX (1934), 49—62.

here are substantially correct, although I cannot vouch for their absolute accuracy.

As for the finds themselves, it must be borne in mind that the majority of them were made in the course of laying sewers, i. e. along a trench some four feet wide, which exposed only short sections of ancient walls. It is, of course, quite impossible to base a reconstruction on such fragmentary data which will acquire their full significance only when a larger area is excavated. Of the ruins discovered in 1952, two groups deserve special mention. The first is a series of two or perhaps three rounded chambers with a water-conduit that probably belonged to the Baths of Zeuxippus. The other, in the area of the Basilica, is a pair of column-bases set against a stone wall of the sixth century or earlier. At a later date the columns were removed, leaving only their bases, and the stone wall reinforced on both sides with brick walls (see below, p. 184 and figs. 36, 37). A similar group with twin-column bases had been found in 1926 at a distance of 6.50 m. to the north-west. Whether this was a monumental arch or a series of paired columns, it is as yet impossible to say, but the possibility of identifying these remains with the Milion ought to be considered. In offering here an account of these discoveries, no matter how fragmentary, I should like to express the gratitude that all students of Byzantine antiquities owe to Ernest Mamboury, a scholar who devoted forty years of his life to recording the minutest remnants of ancient monuments found at Constantinople.

Chapter I

History and Interior Decoration of the Chalkê

The entrance to the imperial palace of Constantinople lay through a monumental vestibule called the Chalkê (ἡ Χαλκῆ). Whether it was the emperor going in solemn procession, or courtiers waiting for an audience, or rebels attempting to break into the palace, it was through the Chalkê that they had to pass. When the Empire declared war on the enemy, a cuirass, a sword and a shield were hung outside the Chalkê as a sign of mobilization[1]. When an emperor died, it was again through the Chalkê that his body was carried out to burial, and then the great hall would echo three times with the traditional cry, "Go out, Sire, for it is the King of Kings that calls thee now, and the Lord of Lords!"[2]

The name Chalkê is explained by some sources as being due to the tiles of gilded bronze which covered the roof of the building[3], while others derive it from its great bronze portals[4]. The implied substantive with which the feminine adjective χαλκῆ agrees is most probably πύλη (gate), since the usual words for a house (δόμος, οἶκος) are masculine, while οἰκία was a relatively uncommon term in mediaeval Greek; besides, we find other similar designations, e. g. ἡ Χρυσῆ, ἡ Σιδηρᾶ, ἡ Ἐλεφαντίνη which certainly mean the Golden Gate, the Iron Gate, the Ivory Gate. None the less, it is preferable to render ἡ Χαλκῆ as the Bronze or Brazen

[1] *Cer.*, 458.

[2] *Cer.*, 276; Theoph. Cont., 467. Cf. *Vita Theophanus* (E. Kurtz, *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano, die Gemahlin Kaisers Leo VI, Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. de St.-Pétersbourg*, VIII[e] sér., III 2, 1898), 16.

[3] Cedrenus, I, 656—57; Zonaras, III, 154; Cramer, *Anecdota graeca Parisiensia*, II, 320, etc.

[4] Nicetas Choniates, 582.

House rather than the Bronze Gate, since this name designated the entire building[5], whereas the χαλκῆ πύλη denotes in the *Book of Ceremonies* only its outer bronze door[6].

The first period of the history of the Great Palace, from Constantine to Justinian, is scarcely known to us, yet it was at that time that many of the principal buildings were constructed and the basic layout established, thus influencing all subsequent architectural development. The paucity of our sources should not lead us to underestimate the importance of this early period, and it may be surmised that the reigns of Constantius II[7], Arcadius, Theodosius II and Marcian were especially marked by the aggrandizement of the palace[8]. As with the rest of the palace, so with the Chalkê, our information regarding this period is very meagre. It is claimed that the Chalkê was first built by Constantine[9], which is probably true to the extent that the entrance of the Constantinian palace lay approximately on the same spot as the monumental *triklinos*[10] of later times, but its architectural form cannot be determined. At Spalato, the *Porta aurea* gives access to a small square courtyard, 8.85×8.80 m., which was surrounded by a powerful wall and overlooked by a *chemin de ronde*, so that if the enemy broke through the first gate, they could still be exterminated in this confined space[11]. The palace of Galerius at Thessalonica, on the other hand, appears to have had a grandiose covered vestibule measuring 40 by 17 m., elaborately paved in mosaic[12]. I would be inclined to think that Constantine's palace

[5] Cf. the epigram quoted on p. 26 (*Anthol. Palat.*, IX, 656) which is entitled εἰς τὸν οἶκον τὸν ἐπιλεγόμενον Χαλκῆν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ, etc.

[6] In many texts the word πύλη has been unnecessarily added by mediaeval scribes and modern editors who were not aware of this distinction. See Beljaev's thorough note, *Byzantina*, I, 131 n. 1.

[7] The reign of Constantius II was marked by intense building activity at Constantinople. See A. Piganiol, *L'Empire chrétien* (*Histoire générale fondée par G. Glotz, Histoire romaine*, IV 2), Paris, 1947, 105; G. Downey, "The Builder of the Original Church of the Apostles at Constantinople," DOP, VI (1951), 77—79.

[8] Cf. my remarks in *Cahiers archéologiques*, VI (1951), 179 sq.

[9] *Patria*, 218, 219_{15} (apparatus).

[10] In the Byzantine sense of this word, meaning any great hall whether used for dining or not. The Chalkê is called a *triklinos* in *Cer.*, 127_{20}.

[11] Hébrard and Zeiller, *Spalato, le palais de Dioclétien*, Paris, 1912, 41—42.

[12] E. Dyggve, "Compte-rendu succinct des fouilles de Thessalonique en 1939," *Riv. di archeol. crist.*, XVII (1940), 152—53; *id.*, "Recherches sur le palais impérial de Thessalonique," *Studia orientalia Ioanni Pedersen dicata*, Copenhagen, 1953, 60 and fig. 5; *id.*, "La région palatiale de Thessalonique," *Acta congressus Madvigiani* (Proceedings of the 2nd Intern. Congr. of Class. Studies), I, 355 and figs. 15, 16.

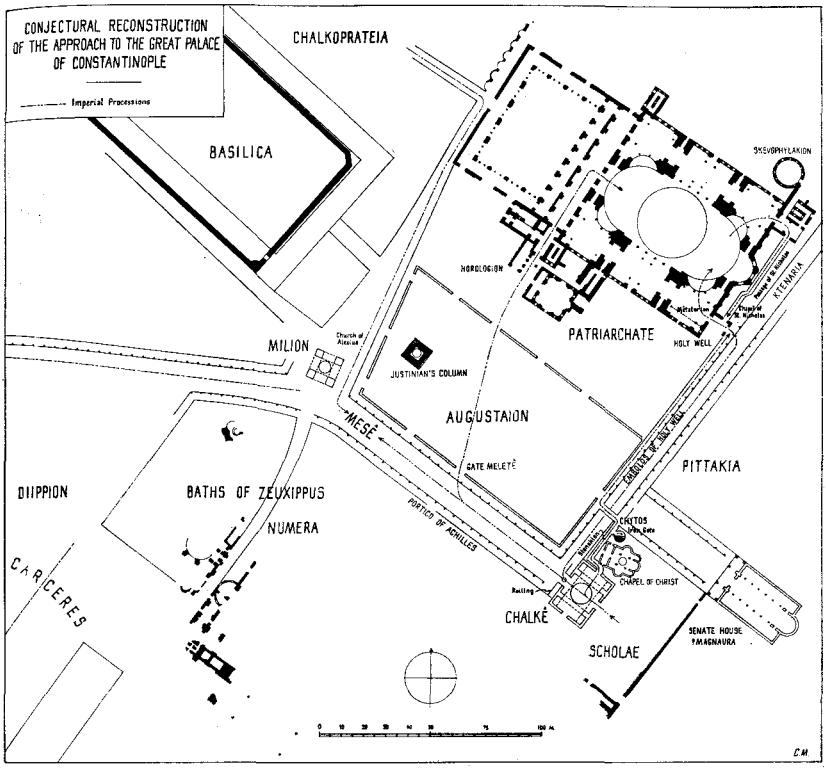

Fig. 1. Conjectural reconstruction of the Chalkê and surrounding buildings.

was in this respect more like that of Galerius than that of Diocletian, but no proof of this can be given at present.

The *Vita Constantini* reports that in front of the palace vestibule (πρὸ τῶν βασιλικῶν προθύρων), on a panel placed high aloft for all to see, Constantine set up an encaustic painting of himself flanked by his two sons (Constantine II and Constantius II). Over his head was the *sotêrion sêmeion*[13], i. e. the plain or the monogrammatic cross, while under his feet, a serpent, pierced by a dart, was falling into the depths of the sea[14]. It has usually been thought that this painting was at the Chalkê, but this cannot be stated positively. The iconography of the com-

[13] The word σημεῖον has been added by the editor Heikel.

[14] *Vita Constantini*, III, 3, p. 78 (Heikel's ed., Berlin, 1902). Cf. Schultze, "Quellenuntersuchungen zur Vita Constantini," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XIV (1894), 516—18.

position is also not entirely clear, but it would seem that it did not represent the familiar *calcatio* theme[15]. The same conception is found, in a schematic version, on the well-known coin, struck at Constantinople between 326 and 330, bearing on the reverse a labarum with the imperial portraits transfixing a serpent. This monetary device, according to Maurice, was probably inspired directly by the emperor[16]. One is also reminded of the tiny lunette composition above the gate of Ravenna in the famous Palatium-mosaic of S. Apollinare Nuovo, which shows a figure, carrying a cross and treading on a serpent, flanked by two companions. The precise meaning of this scene has not been established[17].

The serpent is interpreted by the author of the *Vita* as being the devil who had incited an impious assault on God's church (τὸν δ' ἐχθρὸν καὶ πολέμιον θῆρα τὸν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τῆς τῶν ἀθέων πολιορκήσαντα τυραννίδος). He was falling into the depths of the sea (a feature unsuitable for the *calcatio* theme), vanquished by the salutary symbol, for had not Isaiah said, "God shall bring his great and terrible sword upon the dragon, the crooked serpent, upon the fleeing one, and shall destroy the dragon *that is in the sea*" (Isa. 27. 1)? It should be noted that the last words, τὸν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, are not in Isaiah, but have been borrowed from Ezek. 32. 2, where they apply to the Pharaoh[18]. Is this not a reference to the "godless' usurper Licinius, whose final defeat occurred on the Hellespont and the shores of the Propontis?

The *Vita* also tells us that in certain cities (κατά τινας πόλεις) the first Christian emperor set up, over the palace vestibule, statues of himself with uplifted arms, i. e. in an attitude of prayer[19]. It is not clear whether this statement, the accuracy of which has been questioned[20], applies to Constantinople.

[15] As suggested by Grabar (*L'empereur dans l'art byzantin*, 1936, 44) on the basis of a common fifth-century numismatic composition, namely the emperor, in military attire, placing his foot on a serpent with a human head, and leaning on a staff surmounted by a cross (coins of Marcian, Leo I, etc.).

[16] *Numismatique constantinienne*, II, Paris, 1911, 507.

[17] Garrucci, *Storia dell'arte cristiana*, IV, Prato, 1877, 54; Ricci, *Monumenti. Tavole storiche dei mosaici di Ravenna*, fasc. IV, Rome, 1934, 50—53 (text).

[18] This was pointed out by Beurlier in *Bull. de la Soc. Nat. des Antiq. de France*, 1897, 175.

[19] *Vita Constantini*, IV, 15—16.

[20] H. P. L'Orange, *Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture*, Cambridge, Mass., 1947, 93—94.

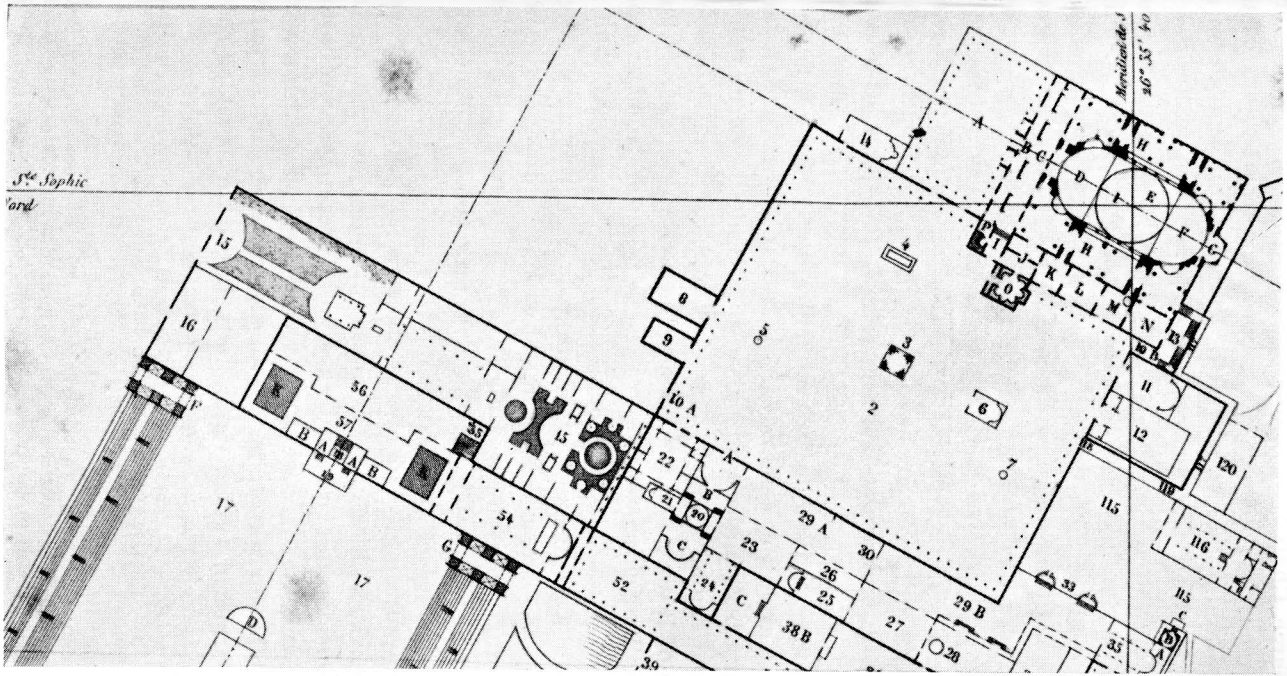

Fig. 2. Part of Labarte's reconstruction of the Great Palace. 1861 (2. Augustaion. 3. Milion. 4. Justinian's column. 10 A. Gate Meletê. 12. Senate House. 15. Baths of Zeuxippus. 20. Chalkê. 20 A. Atrium of Chalkê. 20 B. Chytos. 22. Numera. 116. Magnaura. 117. Passage from Magnaura to St. Sophia).

The name Chalkê was certainly used by the fifth century, since Theodoric's palace at Ravenna, built in imitation of the one at Constantinople, had its own Chalkê, as appears from an oft-quoted passage of Agnellus[21]. Theodoric's own memories of Constantinople went back to the sixties of the fifth century when he was a hostage there. There is also an epigram in the Palatine Anthology entitled, "On the house called Chalkê in the palace, which was built by the emperor Anastasius." It runs as follows:

"I am the house of Anastasius, the tyrannicide emperor, and alone I surpass by far all the cities of the world, a source of wonder to all. The architects, on seeing my height, length and immense breadth, were inclined to leave the vast pile unroofed. But cunning Aetherius, possessed of pre-eminence in this laborious art, devised my form and offered to the stainless emperor the first-fruits of his toils. So, stretching my enormous bulk on all sides, I excel the celebrated wonders of the Ausonian land. Yield to thy betters, graceful hall of the Capitol, even though thy brazen roof radiates glitter. Hide, Pergamus, thy gay ornament, the grove of Rufinus, narrow beside the endless expanse of these palatial halls. Neither wilt thou, Cyzicus, sing of Hadrian's perfect temple founded on the long cliff. The Pyramids stand no comparison with me, nor the Colossus, nor the Pharos; single-handed I have surpassed a whole big legion. My emperor himself, after his victorious annihilation of the Isaurians, completed me, the shrine of Dawn, resplendent with gold, fronting on all sides the breezes of the four winds[22]."

It follows from this epigram, even after making due allowance for poetic exaggeration, that the Chalkê of Aetherius was a covered hall of considerable size and splendour[23], rectangular or square in shape, and that its roof was covered with gilded tiles, which is implied by the phrase χρυσοφαὲς ἐδέθλιον and the comparison with the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, famed for its gilded roof[24].

[21] *Liber pontif. eccl. Ravenn.*, MGH, *Script. rer. Longob. et Ital.*, ed. Holder-Egger, 1878, 337. Cf. Dyggve, *Ravennatum palatium sacrum*, Copenhagen, 1941, 45 sq.

[22] *Anthol. Palat.*, IX, 656.

[23] Cf. Cedrenus, I, 563: τῆς Χαλκῆς τὸν λαμπρὸν δόμον Αἰθέριος ἵδρυσεν μηχανουργὸς καὶ σοφὸς Ἀναστάσιος βουληφόρος. Banduri (*Imperium Orientale*, Paris, 1711, II, 851) is probably right in correcting Ἀναστάσιος to Ἀναστασίου.

[24] Cf. Procopius, *Bell. Vand.*, I, v, 4.

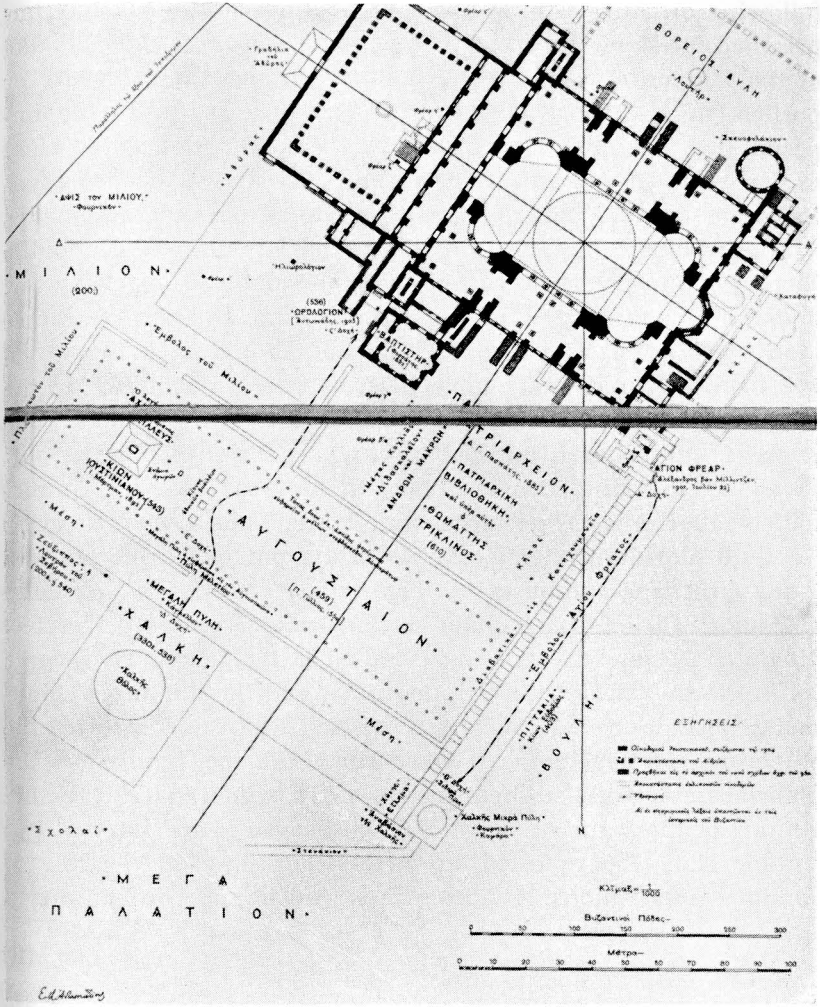

Fig. 3. Antoniades' reconstruction of Augustaion and Chalkê. 1907.

The final defeat of the Isaurian rebels occurred in 498[25], so the epigram must be later.

The epigram does not make it clear whether Anastasius built the Chalkê *de novo*, or restored an older building that had suffered some damage. We learn that in 498 there was a clash in the Hippodrome between the people and the imperial guard,

[25] E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II, Paris, 1949, 82—84.

following on Anastasius' refusal to liberate certain persons imprisoned for stone-throwing. The populace set fire to the "Chalkê of the Hippodrome" (χαλκῆ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ), and the enclosure or portico (περίβολος or ἔμβολος) was consumed as far as the imperial box. The fire also destroyed the colonnades of the Mesê as far as the Forum of Constantine[26]. At first glance, the synchronism between the riot and the date of the epigram makes it appear likely that the "Chalkê of the Hippodrome" and the Chalkê of the palace were one and the same. Seeing, however, that the fire originated in the Hippodrome, it is there, rather than outside the Hippodrome, that one should seek the χαλκῆ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ, which may have been a gate[27]. Furthermore, the very occurrence of a riot in 498 is subject to some doubt. The reign of Anastasius is marked by a whole series of popular outbreaks in the Hippodrome. Thus, in the year 491, i. e. immediately after Anastasius' accession, Marcellinus Comes reports: "Bellum plebeium inter Byzantios ortum parsque urbis plurima atque circi igne combusta[28]." The details are filled in by John of Antioch. To stop a popular demonstration against the prefect Julian of Alexandria, Anastasius called in the guard. The people set fire to the gates of the Hippodrome, and the adjoining colonnades were destroyed. They also dragged down and insulted the emperors' bronze statues. Anastasius laid the blame on the Isaurians and expelled them from the city, which marked the beginning of the Isaurian war[29]. Thus, at seven years' interval two similar riots are reported to have occurred, both leading to similar conflagrations. Another fire is said to have broken out in

[26] Malalas, 394; *Excerpta hist. iussu Imp. Constantini Porphyrogeniti*, III, *Excerpta de insidiis*, Berlin, 1905, 168; Chronicon Paschale, 608.

[27] The "Chalkê of the Hippodrome" is once more mentioned in Chron. Pasch. 701, as the spot to which was dragged the mutilated body of the Emperor Phocas. Guilland (ΕΕΒΣ, XX [1950], 43; BSL, XVIII 1 [1957], 64) suggests that the "Chalkê of the Hippodrome" was a building also called Prandiara and Numera. With regard to the Prandiara, nothing definite can be said, except that it was a prison close to the Hippodrome. Pope Martin was placed "in custodiam excubitorii, quae congominatur Prandearia" (Mansi, X, 855 A). In 406 a fire destroyed the *carceres* of the Hippodrome, the Prandiara and the adjoining porticoes (Chron. Pasch., 569). It appears that the Prandiara took its name from the πρανδιοπράται, dealers in fabrics, who may have plied their trade in the porticoes of the Zeuxippus (Cf. Guilland in *Actes du VI^e Congrès intern. d'études byz.*, II, 1951, 172—73). As for the Numera prison, it appears to have been established within the baths of Zeuxippus in the eighth century (see below, p. 41), and could not, therefore, have been the same as the Prandiara.

[28] MGH, Auctores antiquissimi, XI, 94.

[29] *Excerpta de insidiis*, fr. 100, p. 141.

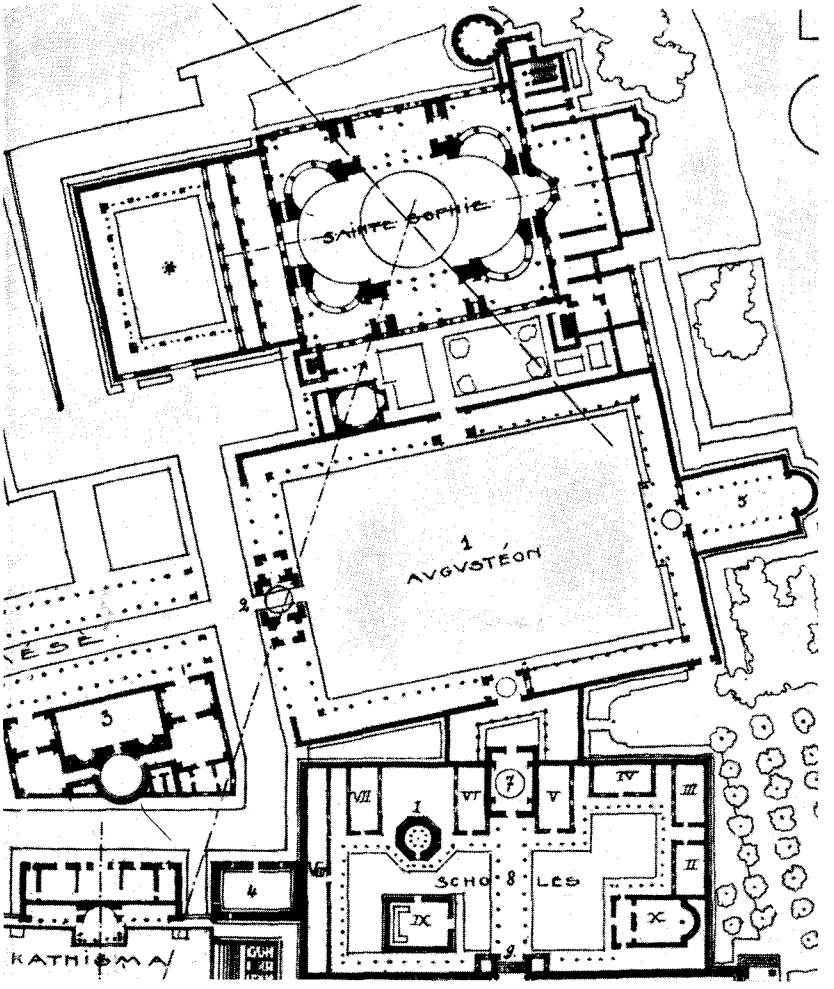

Fig. 4. Part of Ebersolt's reconstruction of the Great Palace. 1910 (2. Milion. 3. Baths of Zeuxippus. 4. Numera. 5. Senate House. 7. Chalkê).

the Hippodrome in the year 507[30], and there were other riots in 493 and 501. It may consequently be questioned whether there was in fact a fire in 498 or whether it was confused with one of several similar incidents in the reign of Anastasius[31].

[30] Marcellinus Comes, 96—97.

[31] Cf. A. M. Schneider, "Brände in Konstantinopel," BZ, XLI (1941), 384, who, however, lists only the fires of 498 and 507 with the suggestion that they may be one and the same. See also Guilland, "The Hippodrome at Byzantium," *Speculum*, XXIII (1948), 679.

In view of these considerations, it cannot be stated definitely that the rebuilding of the Chalkê by Anastasius was prompted by the destruction of the original palace vestibule in the course of a riot. However that may be, Aetherius' masterpiece did not last long, and the only event it is connected with is that a star appeared over it in the reign of Justin I (518—527) and shone for twenty six days and nights[32]. During the Nika riot, on January 13th/14th 532[33], the Chalkê was destroyed in the great conflagration that consumed St. Sophia, the Baths of Zeuxippus and the Senate House[34], while Justinian remained entrenched in the palace. When, a few days later, Belisarius failed to penetrate into the Cathisma (the imperial box in the Hippodrome), held by the usurper Hypatius, the emperor ordered him to proceed to the Chalkê, which he did, "not without danger and great exertion, making his way through ruins and half-burned buildings[34a]." From there Belisarius marched on the Hippodrome and fell upon the insurgents, thirty thousand of whom were massacred that day. A few years later Justinian rebuilt the Chalkê on a magnificent scale.

We are indebted to Procopius for a detailed description of the new Chalkê[35]. It was rectangular in plan, slightly longer on east and west than on north and south. Inside, four square piers engaged in the walls carried eight arches. Four arches upheld the central dome, while a pair of arches on each side abutted on the lateral wall and supported a *tholos*, i. e. some kind of a vault[36]. The floor and the walls up to the springing of the vaults were covered with marble slabs of different colours, mostly Proconnesian white veined with blue, set off with verd antique as well as with an orange-red stone. By following the text of Procopius, it is possible to give an approximate restitution of the

[32] Some sources say that this star shone for 27 or 29 days. Georgius Monachus, ed. De Boor, II, 626; Cedrenus, I, 640; Georgius Hamartolus, ed. Muralt, 524; Leo Grammaticus, 123; Cramer, *Anecd. gr. Paris.*, II, 319.

[33] For the date see Bury, "The Nika Riot," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XVII (1897), 114—15.

[34] Procopius, *Bell. pers.*, I, xxiv, 9; Malalas, 474; Chronicon Paschale, 621; Theophanes, 181, 184; Cedrenus, I, 647; Zonaras, III, 154; Cramer, *op. cit.*, II, 112, etc.

[34a] Procopius, *Bell. pers.*, I, xxiv, 47.

[35] *De aedificiis*, I, x, 12—15.

[36] Procopius uses the word *tholos* for both vaults and domes. See the index to the Loeb ed. of the *De aedificiis* under "Architectural terms."

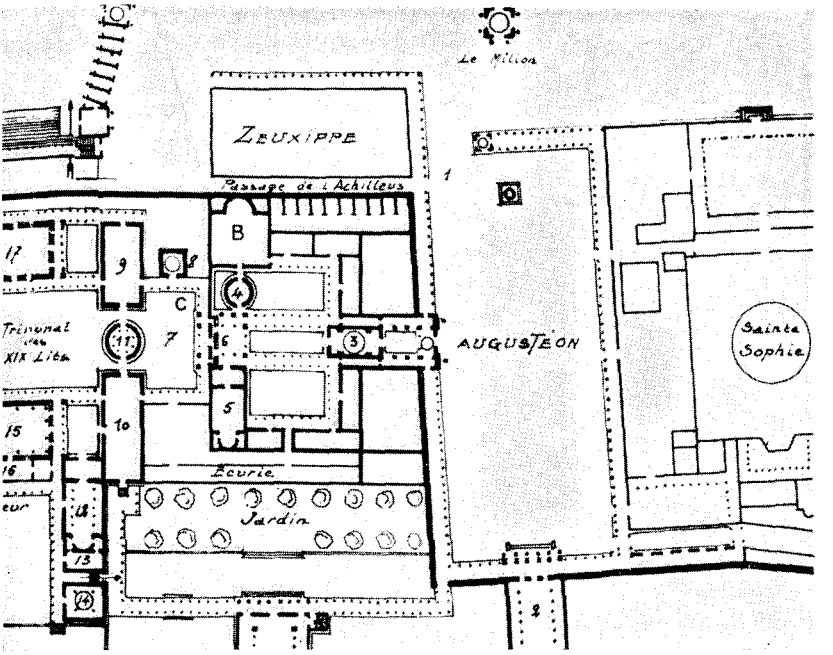

Fig. 5. Part of A. Vogt's reconstruction of the Great Palace. 1935 (1. Gate Meletê. 2. Senate House. 3. Chalkê).

Chalkê[37] (fig. 1), though the over-all dimensions of the building and the relative width of the central and lateral bays cannot, of course, be determined[38]. The ground-plan so reconstructed recalls

[37] Cf. K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, I, Oxford, 1932, 136 and fig. 73. In the Loeb ed. (85 n. 3) a cruciform plan is suggested, but that would call for free-standing piers, whereas Procopius explicitly says that they were joined to the walls, and for twelve instead of eight arches.

[38] Regarding the dimensions of the Chalkê, I would hesitate to take into account the statement of Harun-ibn-Yahya to the effect that the vestibule of the palace which was reached through the gate of al-Mankana was 200 paces long and 50 paces wide. Text translated by Vasiliev in *Semin. Kondakovianum*, V (1932), 155—56; M. Izeddin, "Un prisonnier arabe à Byzance au IX^{e} siècle," *Rev. des ét. islamiques*, 1941—1946, 48; Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, II, Brussels, 1950, 385. The Arab prisoner says that this vestibule was paved with marble, and that on either side of it were benches for the Khazar guards to sit on. Four prisons were attached to this vestibule, one for the Muhammedans, one for the people of Tarsus, one for the common people of the city, and one used by the commander of the guard. With regard to the benches cf. the vestibule of the Ummayad palace of Khirbet el Mefjer (D. C. Baramki, "Excavations at Khirbet el Mefjer, II," *Quarterly of the Dept. of Ant. in Palestine*, VI [1937], 158 and pls. XLIII, XLVII, etc). Despite the prisons, usually identified with the Numera, it is not at all clear that the vestibule of al-Mankana (τὰ Μάγγανα?) was the Chalkê. In general, Harun's description of the palace is so confused and fantastic as to be of little use.

that of a group of Armenian churches, such as Ptgni (sixth or seventh century), Talish (668) and Shirakawan, with apses removed[39].

Next, Procopius proceeds to describe the mosaics that decorated the ceiling of the Chalkê. Here is what he says of them: "On either side is war and battle, and numerous cities are captured, some in Italy, others in Libya. The emperor Justinian is winning victories through his adjutant Belisarius, who comes back to the emperor with his whole army intact, and offers him spoils, both kings and kingdoms, and everything that is most prized among men. In the centre stand the emperor and the empress Theodora, and they both look as if they were rejoicing and celebrating victories over the kings of the Vandals and of the Goths, who approach them like prisoners of war led to captivity. The Roman senate stands round them, all jubilant. This mood is expressed by the tesserae which take on a gay bloom on their faces. So they are proud and smile as they bestow on the emperor godlike honours (ἰσοθέους τιμάς) because of the magnitude of his deeds." Taking into account the architecture of the building, it is clear that the campaigns of Belisarius were in the lateral vaults (ἐφ' ἑκάτερα), while the imperial couple and the senators were in the dome (κατὰ τὸ μέσον). We are not explicitly told in which part of the ceiling was the scene of Belisarius' return with his army and spoils. Seeing, however, that only one image of Justinian is mentioned, namely the one in the dome, and that the submission of the captive kings is expressly linked with that image; seeing, furthermore, that Belisarius is described as coming back to the emperor with his army, it is reasonable to assume that the scene of the emperor's military triumph was likewise placed in the dome. The composition may now be reconstructed in two ways. The first would be to divide the dome into two registers: upper level, Justinian and Theodora, and a ring of *togati* in an attitude of acclamation; lower level, Belisarius with his army, the captive kings and trophies, all converging towards a point directly below the emperor. The second way would be to suppose that the imperial couple occupied the central

[39] Cf. Strzygowski, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*, I, Vienna, 1918, 71, fig. 54; A. L. Jakobson, *Očerk istorii zodčestva Armenii V—XVII vekov*, Moscow — Leningrad, 1950, 45 sq.

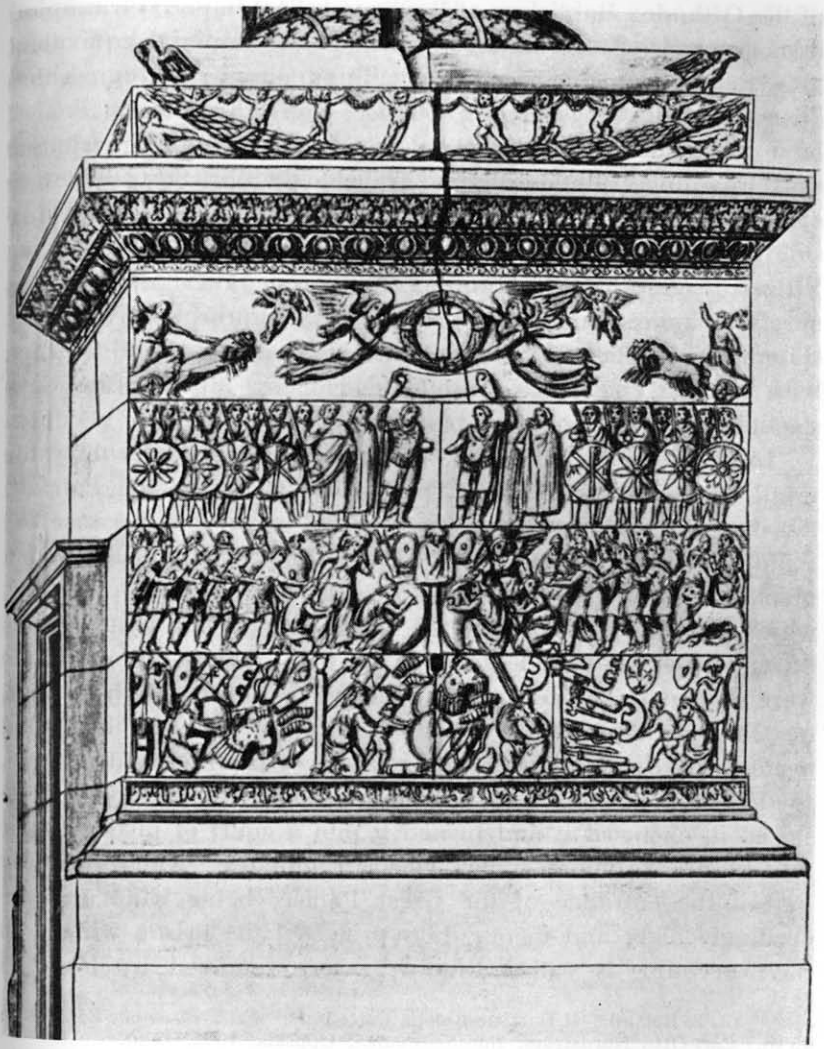

Fig. 6. Pedestal of Arcadius' Column. West side. *After Freshfield.*

medallion (which is, in fact, suggested by the "godlike honours"), in which case there would have been three levels of hierarchy: the emperor and empress, the senate, and the army. Whichever of these two possibilities is preferred, we obtain an important missing link in imperial iconography. It has, in fact, been observed that the dome schemes of St. George at Thessalonica and

of the Orthodox Baptistery at Ravenna reflect imperial triumphal iconography[40]. So far, however, the closest imperial equivalent known has been the base of Arcadius' column, as represented on a set of drawings made *ca.* 1574[41] (fig. 6). In the Chalkê we have a similar composition[42], not on a flat surface but in a dome, thus providing a more pertinent parallel to the Christian adaptation of this theme.

The presence among the captives of the Visigothic king Vitiges places the execution of the mosaic after 540. This is surely a more trustworthy chronological indication than the statement of Malalas[43] that the Chalkê was completed and adorned with marble and mosaic in the consulship of John the Cappadocian (538).

In the course of the dark and troubled seventh century the Chalkê was converted into a prison. According to the *Patria*[44], this happened under Heraclius and his successors because the building had remained "idle." The Chalkê is, in fact, often mentioned as a place of detention up to the twelfth century[45], which should probably be understood to mean that various dependencies and undergrounds of the monumental vestibule were used as prison cells. By the second half of the ninth century, the Chalkê, "once a most splendid and admirable building," had become quite dilapidated with age, neglect and the result of fires, so that its roof was in a state of imminent collapse. Basil I restored it, cleansed it and turned it into a court of justice[46]. The famous bronze doors, writes Nicetas Choniates, "which formerly barred the entrance of the Great Palace, being wide and exceedingly high, and in our days protected the prison which, on their account, is called Chalkê," were removed by Isaac II

[40] Cf. S. Bettini, "Il Battistero della Cattedrale," *Felix Ravenna*, LII (1950), 45 sq.; Carl-Otto Nordström, *Ravennastudien*, Uppsala, 1953, 42 sq.

[41] See E. M. Freshfield, "Notes on a Vellum Album," etc., *Archaeologia*, LXXII (1922), 87—104; G. Q. Giglioli, *La colonna di Arcadio a Constantinopoli*, Naples, 1952, 40 sq.

[42] Grabar (*L'empereur dans l'art byzantin*, 81 sq.) rightly compares the Chalkê mosaics to the base of Arcadius' column and the Barberini ivory in the Louvre, but believes that the text of Procopius refers to two distinct compositions: 1) the emperor and empress surrounded by the senate, and 2) the emperor receiving the conquered kingdoms from Belisarius.

[43] 479.

[44] 218.

[45] Theoph. Cont., 175, 430; Zonaras, III, 154, 656; Nicetas Choniates, 696, etc.

[46] Theoph. Cont., 259—60; Cedrenus, II, 204.

Angelus (1185—95) to beautify the suburban church of St. Michael at Anaplous[47]. About the year 1200, the usurper John Comnenus nicknamed the Fat, in his attempt to seize the Great Palace, was too cowardly to make a frontal approach "through the place of the axe-bearers' quarters which leads anyone who so wishes directly to the palace," so he entered the dark passage under the seats of the Hippodrome and broke through the gate under the Cathisma (the imperial box in the Hippodrome)[48]. This implies that the way through the Chalkê and the adjoining guards' quarters lay wide open.

In the Palaeologan period no mention, to my knowledge, is ever made of the Chalkê which must have been in a state of complete ruin. Apparently, all that remained of the vestibule complex was the chapel of Christ (see below, pp. 154 sq).

[47] Nicetas Choniates, 582; Theod. Skutariotes, *Synopsis chronikê* in Sathas, *Bibl. gr. med. aevi*, VII, 410. On Anaplous, a settlement on the Bosphorus (the modern Arnautköy), and the church of St. Michael, see Pargoire, "Anaple et Sosthène," IRAIK, III (1898), 60—97.

[48] Nikolaos Mesarites, *Die Palastrevolution des Johannes Komnenos*, ed. Heisenberg, Würzburg, 1907, 24.

Chapter II

The Topographical Framework

A discussion of the situation and arrangement of the Chalkê would be unintelligible without reference to the buildings that surrounded it. Our first task, therefore, must be a purely topographical one, namely to place each vanished monument as accurately as possible on the map of modern Istanbul with relation to such as are still standing, rather than to start with an attractively symmetrical preconception of what the palace was like, and then fit in the buildings that are mentioned in the texts. What follows is based on literary evidence and archaeological findings, and to a much smaller extent on analogy, since our knowledge of late antique palaces is still very fragmentary. It must also be borne in mind that the Great Palace was not all built at the same time or according to a unified plan. The entire front part of it, including the vestibule which is the subject of this study and the guards' quarters as far as the Tribunal[1], was burnt down in 532 and rebuilt by Justinian. This rebuilding was not, however, the last, and many more changes were made before the tenth century, which is the period to which our most detailed topographical information belongs. We shall have occasion to observe that many anomalies in plan, which would be inexplicable in the case of a monumental *ensemble* conceived and executed as a whole, become intelligible when they

[1] Procopius, *De aedificiis*, I, 10, 3, where the mss read: μέχρι ἐς τὸν ἀρέας (variant ἀραιᾶς) καλούμενον οἶκον. Haury, and after him the Loeb editors, have corrected ἀρέας to Ἄρεως on the strength of *Bell. Pers.*, I, xxiv, 9: καὶ τῆς βασιλέως αὐλῆς τὰ ἐκ τῶν προπυλαίων ἄχρι ἐς τὸν Ἄρεως (variant ἄρεος) λεγόμενον οἶκον καυθέντα ἐφθάρη. The house of Ares is, however, totally unknown, while the ἀρέα or ἀραία (Lat. *area*) was the name given to the tribunal in front of the Hall of the Nineteen Couches. Cf. *Cer.*, 218_3: τὸ τριβουνάλιον τῆς ἀραίας ἔξωθεν τῶν ιθ' ἀκουβίτων: *ibid*$_{20}$: τὰ γραδήλια τῆς ἀραίας ἔνθεν κἀκεῖθεν τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ: 628_{14}: τὰ γραδήλια τῆς ἀρέας.

are considered as later adaptations and accretions within an existing framework. The difficulty is further aggravated by the architectural overcrowding of a fairly small space. About a hundred buildings known to us by name were piled together on an area that was less than one square kilometre. As a result, a shift of fifty or a hundred metres in the location of any one building is not only significant in itself, but upsets the arrangement of all the surrounding monuments.

The following account of the buildings that stood close to the Chalkê is not designed to be exhaustive as regards their history, form and decoration, but mainly to serve as a topographical guide and to render more intelligible the imperial ceremonies that will be discussed in the next chapter.

1. The Hippodrome

The direction of its axis and of its two wings is now exactly known[2]. Its gates (*carceres*) have not yet been uncovered, but there can be no doubt that they lay close to the fountain of Wilhelm II. The excavations of 1950—52, carried out with a view to clearing the site for the new "Palace of Justice", have shed much light on this end of the Hippodrome[3]. The *carceres* themselves and the space in front of them went by the name of Diippion[4].

2. The Baths of Zeuxippus and the Numera

The excavations undertaken in 1927—28 under the auspices of the British Academy brought to light Byzantine ruins that probably formed part of the celebrated Baths of Zeuxippus, first built by Severus (*ca.* A.D. 196) and later enlarged by Constantine the Great[5]. This identification is supported by the discovery (unfortunately not *in situ*) of two statue bases inscibed EKABH

[2] See E. Mamboury, "Les fouilles byzantines à Istanbul," *Byzantion* XI (1936), 272: "L'axe déterminé par les obélisques a une inclinaison nord de 38°30′, la corne ouest 36°, celle de l'est 36°30′."

[3] See the two short reports by Rüstem Duyuran in *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzelleri Yïllïğï*, no. 5 (1952) and no. 6 (1954). Cf. Mamboury in *Byzantion*, XXI (1951), 455—59.

[4] See my article, "Le Diippion: étude historique et topographique," REB VIII (1951), 152—61.

[5] *Second Report upon the Excavations Carried out in and near the Hippodrome of Constantinople in 1928 on Behalf of the British Academy*, London, 1929.

and AICXHNHC (sic)[6], by water-conduits and other data. Some scholars, it is true, have denied this conclusion because no hypocausts, furnaces, tubs or other usual features of a public bath had been found, and suggested instead that these ruins formed part of the Chalkê[7]. I believe, however, that the original identification ought to be maintained. The ruins that were uncovered consist of two elements separated by a passage and are most irregular in arrangement. The one to the west (called Building 1 by the excavators) appears to have been domed (A on fig. 38). The chief feature of the second building (B on fig. 38) is a very big apse or exedra (12 m. in diameter), strangely obstructed with stone piers, and facing east towards an extensive court. Unfortunately, the excavations were not pursued far enough to determine either the size or the general plan of these buildings. Another element belonging to the same architectural complex had been discovered in 1915, but not published until 1934[8]. In front of the Medrese of Sultan Ahmet and perpendicular to the wall containing the big apse, were found two vaulted chambers limited on the south-east by a thick mass of masonry (C on fig. 38); a pier with a curved side; and two pairs of big granite columns (90 cm. in diameter and 6.90 m. high) separated by a distance of 27 m.[9] In 1934, in the course of the construction of an underground toilet at the head of the Hippodrome, an imposing spiral staircase consisting of two concentric ramps came to light about 40 m. north of Building 1 (D on fig. 38)[10]. It may be questioned, of course, whether this *cochlias* was part of the Baths of Zeuxippus, but it is difficult to see what other building it could have belonged to[11]. Several

[6] The presence of these statues in the Baths of Zeuxippus is attasted by the *ecphrasis* of Christodorus, *Anthol. graeca*, II, lines 13 sq., 175 sq.

[7] Mamboury and Wiegand, *Kaiserpaläste*, 46—47; Mamboury in *Byzantion* XI (1936), 259—60. Janin (*CP byzantine*, 217) says of the Zeuxippus: "Les fouilles exécutées dans cette région en 1928—29 (sic) n'ont rien donné d'utile pour reconnaître son emplacement."

[8] Mamboury and Wiegand, *Kaiserpaläste*, 45—47 and pl. XCV.

[9] The eastern pair of columns may be seen on the general plan of the palace area in A. M. Schneider's *Byzanz*, pl. 10.

[10] Mamboury in *Arch. Anz.*, XLIX (1934), 52—53; *id.*, in *Byzantion*, XI (1936), 273—74.

[11] I cannot agree with Schneider's suggestion (BZ, XXXVI, 77 n. 5) that this may be the spiral staircase between the palace and the Hippodrome mentioned by Procopius, *Bell. pers.*, I, xxiv, 43. The latter must have been much further south, near the palace of Daphne and the Cathisma. Cf. Guilland in JÖBG, IV (1955), 52.

imperial *thermae* have spiral staircases at the caldarium end connecting the ground floor to the hypocaust, on the one hand, and to the upper storeys, on the other. For other remains of the Baths of Zeuxippus, see p. 186 below.

On the basis of these scattered remains it is, of course, quite impossible to attempt a reconstruction of the Baths of Zeuxippus which, like many late Roman baths, were probably very irregular in ground-plan. But whatever their shape, the Baths of Zeuxippus were very big, though not, of course, as immense as those of Caracalla or Diocletian in Rome. This was a μέγιστον λουτρόν[12] which, before its destruction in 532, possessed close to a hundred statues. The presence of a palaestra or enclosed courtyard is implied by the name γυμνάσιον and confirmed by the mention of a μεσαύλιον. In 680, a certain Monothelite monk Polychronius, who professed to raise dead men by placing over them his confession of faith, was requested by the fathers of the Sixth Oecumenical Council to demonstrate his powers in public. The experiment was held outside the palace, "in the courtyard of the public bath which is called Zeuxippus" (ἐν τῷ μεσαυλίῳ τοῦ δημοσίου λουτροῦ τοῦ οὕτως ἐπιλεγομένου Ζευξίππου), so that many people could be present. Polychronius tried for several hours to revive a corpse that was provided for the purpose, but to no avail[13]. Incidentally, the Zeuxippus still served as a public bath in 713 when the emperor Philippicus bathed in it[14], but by the tenth century it was no longer functioning[15]. It has been conjectured that a silk factory was installed in it[16]. A bath at the head of the Hippodrome is mentioned ca. 1420 by Buondelmonti[17] and in 1437—38 by Pero Tafur who adds that it had doors on each side facing one

[12] Hesychius, 15_{14}; cf. *infra*, n. 27.
[13] Mansi, XI, 609.
[14] Theophanes, 383.
[15] *Patria*, 168.
[16] This conjecture is based on the inscription of the famous elephant textile found in Charlemagne's grave:

†ἐπὶ Μιχ[αὴ]λ πριμι[κηρίου] κοιτ[ωνίτου] καὶ εἰδικοῦ
†Πέτρου ἄρχοντ[ος] τοῦ Ζευξήπου. ἰνδ. ιβ'.

See Ch. Diehl, "L'étoffe byzantine du reliquaire de Charlemagne," *Strena Buliciana*, Zagreb, 1924, 442.

[17] G. Gerola, "Le vedute di Constantinopoli di Cristoforo Buondelmonti," *St. biz.*, III (1931), 273; E. Legrand, *Description des îles de l'Archipel par Christophe Buondelmonti*, Paris, 1897, 87.

another[18], but it may be doubted whether this was in fact the Zeuxippus.

The close connection between the Baths of Zeuxippus and the palace is made clear by the account of the eviction of the Patriarch Paul by the Prefect Philip (*ca.* A.D. 344). In order to avoid a popular disturbance, Philip invited the bishop to the Baths of Zeuxippus on the pretense of public business. When Paul presented himself, he was shown the emperor's warrant for his deposition. To elude the attention of the crowd that had gathered in the meantime, Philip ordered a door of the bath to be forced open (ἐκφραγῆναι μίαν τοῦ λουτροῦ θυρίδα), and had the bishop removed to the palace and thrown into a ship bound for Thessalonica[19]. The account of this kidnapping implies a direct passage from the baths to the palace.

It should also be noted that before Justinian, and probably after, there was considerable open space round the Zeuxippus. A law of the year 424 speaks of *plurimae domus cum officinis in porticibus Zeuxippi*[20]. We hear of an inn situated between the Zeuxippus and the Hippodrome[21], as well as of a small bath beside the big one[22]. Another fact which so far has been overlooked is that Justin II started building himself a huge column "in the eastern part of the city, on the seashore, in what is called the Zeuxippus." He provided it with an inner staircase so that workmen could go up carrying loads of masonry. After Justin's death (578), Tiberius ordered this column to be destroyed over the protests of the empress Sophia[23].

The above evidence indicates, I believe, that the *thermae* of Zeuxippus, the most famous and most sumptuous of Constantinople, require much more space than is usually allotted to them on reconstructed plans of the Great Palace, for example that of Vogt (fig. 5). The ruins unearthed in 1927—28 are mainly of the sixth century, judging by the brickwork. The restoration of the

[18] *Travels and Adventures*, trans. Malcolm Letts, London, 1926, 143.

[19] Socrates, II, 16, PG 67, 216; Sozomen, III, 9, *ibid.*, 1056. Cf. W. Telfer, "Paul of Constantinople," *Harvard Theol. Review*, XLIII (1950), 84—85.

[20] *Cod. Theod.*, XV, 1, 52; *Cod. Iust.*, VIII, 11, 19.

[21] *Anthol. Palat.*, IX, 650.

[22] *Ibid.*, IX, 614; probably also IX, 624.

[23] John of Ephesus, III, 24. Latin trans. by Brooks, *Corpus Script. Christ. Orient.*, *Script. Syri*, ser. III, t. 3, *versio*, 111—12; English trans. by R. Payne Smith (*The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John Bishop of Ephesus*, Oxford, 1860), 205—06.

baths by Justinian is briefly alluded to by Procopius[24], whose brevity on this score and the reticence of later sources may indicate that they did not regain all their former splendour.

It seems likely that part of the Baths of Zeuxippus was transformed into a prison in the course of the eighth century and given the name of Numera after a detachment of troops, the Numeri[25]. The *Patria*, it is true, speaks of the Zeuxippus and the Numera as of two distinct buildings. The latter, it says, was built by Constantine the Great, simultaneously with the Chalkê, and intended to be a palace hall, but being unused, it was turned into a prison by Heraclius and his successors[26]. However, Nicephorus Callistus (early fourteenth century) affirms that the Zeuxippus and the Numera were one and the same[27], and this is confirmed by two manuscripts of Suidas (of the twelfth and thirteenth century) which say Ζεύξιππον τὰ νῦν Νούμερα[28]. Likewise, Pachymeres reports that Michael VIII confined some Latin captives in the "prison of the Zeuxippus[29]." Seeing that the Baths of Zeuxippus fell into disuse, probably in the course of the eighth century, it may be readily assumed that part of this huge structure, conveniently supplied with underground hypocausts, was converted into a prison. At a later date a monastery was installed in or near the baths, since in 1185 the mutilated body of Andronicus I Comnenus was placed "in a very low spot, somewhere near the monastery of Ephorus which is at the Zeuxippus (κατὰ τὸ Ζεύξιππον), and as it had not lost all shape yet, it was available for inspection[30]."

Several notable persons were imprisoned in the Numera. The Patriarch Ignatius was confined there along with his supporters who had passed deposition on Photius at the synod of St. Irene (859)[31]. About the same time, Irene, the aunt of Michael III,

[24] *De aedif.*, I, 10, 3.

[25] On the Numeri see Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century*, London, 1911, 65—66.

[26] 144, 218.

[27] *Hist. eccles.*, IX, 9, PG 146, 245 A: ἐκάλει τὸν Παῦλον ἀνὰ τὸν Ζεύξιππον· δημόσιον δὲ τοῦτο λουτρὸν περιφανές τε καὶ μέγιστον ὃ Νουμέρων ἔσχε κλῆσιν εἰσέπειτα.

[28] S. v. Σεβῆρος. See Ada Adler's ed., IV, 335, apparatus.

[29] I, 519; cf. Possin's note, II, 683.

[30] Nicetas Choniates, 460; Sathas, *Bibl. gr. med. aevi*, VII, 361. See Janin's speculations about this monastery, *Eglises et monastères*, 138—39.

[31] *Vita Ignatii*, PG 105, 513 C; Mansi, XVI, 416 D.

"walked slowly on foot through the Scholae to visit the prisoners confined in the Chalkê, the Praetorium and the Numera, asking them one by one for what reason they had been imprisoned[32]." Romanus I ordered that on Wednesdays and Fridays fifteen folles should be given to every man in the Praetorium, the Chalkê and the Numera, and one silver piece on Good Friday[33]. In 1156 the annalist Michael Glycas was thrown in the Numera, and he describes this sinister prison in a very graphic poem. It was deep under ground, dark, smoky and evil-smelling. Hardly able to see one another, the prisoners were kept in constant fright by the shouts of the Varangian guard and the rattle of chains. Even sleep was not possible[34].

3. The Augustaion and the Tetrastoon

The dimensions of the Augustaion are not known exactly. Some remnants of ancient walls published by the late Ernest Mamboury have been considered to mark the limits of the Augustaion, but the space they enclose is far too vast. Besides, these walls are rather heterogeneous in character, and probably have no connection with one another.

A stretch of wall 73.50 m. long has been discovered just to the east of the burnt-down Palace of Justice (the former Ottoman University). At its south end this wall turns west at a right angle and continues for another 18 m. (E on fig. 38). Its lower half is built of ashlar, while the upper part is of brick. The technique points to the fourth or fifth century. This wall rose to a height of some 4 m. above the ancient street level[35]. Here, it has been assumed, we have the south-east corner of the Augustaion. Close to the same spot excavations were undertaken in 1937 under the auspices of the French Institute of Istanbul. Further walls built in the same manner were brought to light, but unfortunately no detailed account or plan of them has been published[36].

[32] Theoph. Cont., 175.

[33] *Ibid.*, 430.

[34] E. Legrand, *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire*, I, Paris, 1880, 21 sq. Cf. H. Pernot, "Le poème de Michel Glycas sur son emprisonnement," *Mélanges Ch. Diehl*, I, 263—76.

[35] Mamboury and Wiegand, *Kaiserpaläste*, 35 and pls. XC, XCI.

[36] Mamboury in *Byzantion*, XIII (1938), 306—07; (A. M. Schneider) in *Arch. Anz.*, 1939, 187.

The north boundary of the Augustaion is said to have been just within the modern enclosure of St. Sophia, roughly where the ticket office now is. At the back of the ticket office was discovered in 1939 a tiny apse contained between two stone walls that are not exactly alined with St. Sophia (F on fig. 38 and fig. 35). It may be that this is part of the north enclosure of the Augustaion, although the apse is too late and the evidence generally too slender for any definite conclusion to be drawn at this time (see Appendix IV, 1).

As regards the west side of the Augustaion, we have a piece of wall 90 cm. thick and some 12 m. long which was found in 1934, and in the state in which it was discovered rose to about 2 m. above the original street level (G on fig. 38 and fig. 37). It is joined by another thicker wall which is alined with the long side of the Cisterna Basilica[37].

On the assumption that all four sides of the Augustaion are represented by these archaeological discoveries, we would have an enormous open space, some 190 m. long and 95 m. wide, which is very difficult to reconcile with our historical data. For it has been demonstrated by Prof. R. Guilland that the Augustaion was not a great public square, but rather an enclosed courtyard of somewhat more modest dimensions, intended primarily for the emperor's use[38]. This question will be considered below (pp. 46 sq.), but I should like to suggest at this point that certain peculiarities of lay-out can best be explained on the assumption that the Augustaion was carved out of a larger forum, the ancient Tetrastoon, and enclosed by a wall to serve as a forecourt to St. Sophia, while the Chalkê was left out of it.

What we know of the Tetrastoon is very little indeed. It was a huge square surrounded by four porticoes[39], and seems to have existed, at least as an open space, before Septimius Severus. Ever since Du Cange[40], it has been assumed that the Tetrastoon was the same as the Augustaion; lately, however, a different view, propounded by A. M. Schneider[41] and followed by R. Guil-

[37] Briefly described by Mamboury, *Arch. Anz.*, 1934, 54.
[38] ΕΕΒΣ XVIII (1948), 161—65.
[39] Zosimus, II, 31, p. 88.
[40] *CP Christiana*, lib. I, p. 70; so also Janin, *CP byzantine*, 22, who says that the Tetrastoon was the focal point of the Severan city.
[41] *Byzanz*, 24.

land[42], has found acceptance, namely that the Tetrastoon lay on the site of the Cisterna Basilica. The latter view is based on the following argument. Zosimus, in a well-known passage[43], says that Constantine the Great built at one end of the Tetrastoon, to which led up a flight of steps, two temples, one dedicated to Rhea, the other to the Fortuna of Rome. Now, according to Hesychius, the temple of Rhea (who was the Tyche of Byzantium) stood at the Basilica (κατὰ τὸν τῆς Βασιλικῆς λεγόμενον τόπον)[44], and Socrates likewise specifies that the altar of Tyche (presumably the same as the temple of Rhea), at which Julian offered public sacrifice, was "in the Basilica" (ἐν τῇ Βασιλικῇ)[45]. It must, however, be borne in mind that the Basilica and the Augustaion lay next to each other, approximately in the form of two rectangles having a short side in common. On the north side of the Basilica (and therefore also at its north-east corner which adjoined the Augustaion) the ground dropped down steeply, as can still be seen today, though in Byzantine times the declivity must have been even more pronounced. The late E. Mamboury reckoned that the difference in level between the Basilica and the church of St. Mary Chalkoprateia, which stood alongside it on the north, was as much as 12 m.[46]. If, therefore, the flight of many steps mentioned by Zosimus[47] and the temples of Rhea and Fortuna were at the north-east corner of the Basilica, then they could also be described as being at one end of the Augustaion, so that the argument in favour of placing the Tetrastoon over the Cisterna Basilica loses some of its cogency. There are, however, other reasons for reverting to the view of Du Cange. In the first place, the Tetrastoon touched the baths of Zeuxippus since, according to Malalas, "the emperor Severus added the public bath he had built to the Tetrastoon, in the middle of which stood the statue of Helios, having built in its stead a temple, that is a sanctuary of Helios, in the acropolis of this same Byzoupolis,"

[42] "La Basilique, la Bibliothèque et l'Octogone de Byzance," *Mélanges d'histoire littéraire et de bibliographie offerts à Jean Bonnerot*, Paris, 1954, 97.

[43] *Loc. cit.*

[44] P. 6.

[45] III, 11, PG 67, 409 B.

[46] *Byzantion*, XI (1936), 274.

[47] *Loc. cit.*: κατὰ τὰς τῆς μιᾶς στοᾶς ἄκρας, εἰς ἣν ἀνάγουσιν οὐκ ὀλίγοι βαθμοί. These are perhaps the same as the 72 steps mentioned in *Parastaseis*, 40; cf. *Patria*, 172.

etc.[48]. It appears from this awkwardly worded passage that the building of the Baths of Zeuxippus had necessitated the removal of a statue of Helios that had stood in the middle of the Tetrastoon. To compensate for this act, Severus erected a temple of Helios in the acropolis and, as Malalas goes on to say, he moved the statue to this new temple. Hence the Baths of Zeuxippus overlapped to some extent the pre-Severan Tetrastoon. The position of both the Baths of Zeuxippus and the Basilica appears, however, to be well-established, and there is no point of contact between the two. It may further be argued that since the Tetrastoon was incorporated as an agora or forum into the Constantinian city, one would imagine it to have been a point of convergence for several main thoroughfares, and to have been surrounded by such public monuments as were usually attached to a late Imperial forum, viz. a curia, one or several temples, a basilica, a monumental arch, rostra, a number of honorific statues, a bath, etc. The site of the Basilica does not appear to answer either of these conditions. To the best of our knowledge, no streets radiated from it. On the contrary, the Basilica seems to have been contained within a city block, limited by the Mesê (the Divanyolu of today), the uphill street from the Chalkoprateia to the Milion (partly coinciding with Alemdar Caddesi), as well as by a diagonal street that led from the Chalkoprateia to the palace of Lausus on the Mesê. Furthermore, the Basilica did not have all the traditional monuments of a forum grouped around it. I would suggest, therefore, that the Tetrastoon, a μεγίστη ἀγορά, coincided, at least in part, with the Augustaion, but occupied a larger area than the latter, probably including the Milion and the arm of the Mesê that led up to the Chalkê.

If this is granted, then the Augustaion must have been carved out of the Tetrastoon, probably between the fourth and the sixth century. The name Augustaion was certainly in official use by the second quarter of the fifth century, since it appears in the *Notitia urbis*[49], but whether the Augustaion of the *Notitia* was co-extensive with the Augustaion of later times is something we

[48] Malalas, 292; Stauffenberg, *Die Römische Kaisergeschichte bei Malalas*, Stuttgart, 1931, 58: ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Σέβηρος ⟨πρὸς⟩ τὸ Τετράστῳον, ὅπου [or οὗπερ: ὅπερ cod.] ἐν μέσῳ ἵστατο ἡ στήλη τοῦ ἡλίου, προσέθηκε τὸ δημόσιον ὃ ἔκτισεν αὐτός. Cf. Chron. Pasch., 494; Suidas, s. v. Σεβῆρος.

[49] Ed. Seeck, 232.

are unable to say. Hesychius, writing in the sixth century, affirms that Constantine the Great set up a statue of his mother Helena on a column and called that place Augustaion[50]. The partitioning-off of the Augustaion may have occurred, however, in 459, for in that year the prefect Theodosius "built the Augustaion alongside the Great Church" (ἔκτισεν τὸ Αὐγουσταῖον ἐκ πλαγίων τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας)[51]. The Augustaion appears to have been once more remodelled by Justinian. In the words of the *Patria*, "having built St. Sophia, Justinian cleaned up its court (αὐλήν) and paved it with marble, as it had previously been a *gousteion*, i. e. a market-place. For which reason he set up his own statue on a pillar[52]."

Prof. Guilland, as we have said, has shown that the Augustaion served not as a forum but as a courtyard of St. Sophia. This was certainly so in the middle-Byzantine period. Procopius, however, still calls the Augustaion an agora, and adds that it was in front of the Senate House[53]. It was, he says, bordered by porticoes, and the palace was not far from it[54]. The use of the word *agora* suggests that in the sixth century the Augustaion was still a public square[55]. In all later sources, however, it is invariably called a court[56], and there are many references to its gates which will be discussed in the next chapter.

[50] P. 17, § 40. Cf. Malalas, 321; Chron. Pasch., 528—29. Lydus, however, (*De mensibus*, IV, 138, p. 163; cf. Suidas, s. v. Αὔγουστος), says that Helena's statue was set up in the open court of the Daphne (εἰς τὸ ἄσκεπον τῆς Δάφνης).

[51] Chron. Pasch., 593.

[52] *Patria*, 159. The report that the Augustaion was originally a provision market called Gousteion goes back to Lydus, *loc. cit.*; cf. Suidas, s. v. Αὔγουστος and Ἰουστινιανός.

[53] *De aedif.*, I, 2, 1.

[54] *Ibid.*, I, 10, 5 and I, 10, 10: ταύτης δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν τὰ βασιλέως οἰκία [variant οἰκεῖα] ἐστί. This sentence appears to indicate that even in the sixth century the palace did not stand directly on the Augustaion.

[55] Lydus (*De magistr.*, III, 70), in speaking of the conflagration during the Nika riot, says that the fire spread ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουλιανοῦ γερουσίαν ἣν καλοῦσι σένατον κατὰ τὴν Αὐγούστου πανήγυριν. Should this not be translated, "Julian's council-house, which they call Senaton, at the market (*or* fair) of Augustus," i. e. the Augustaion, rather than "quem senatum secundum Augusti congregationem vocant," as rendered in the Bonn ed., p. 265?

[56] With the possible exception of the *Narratio de imagine Edessena*, attributed to Constantine VII, which says that when the procession bearing the Mandylion reached the "agora" in front of the Augustaion (τὴν πρὸ τοῦ Αὐγουστείου τοίνυν φθάσαντες ἀγοράν), it turned left to enter St. Sophia (E. von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder, Texte u. Untersuchungen zur. Gesch. d. altchristlichen Lit.*, XVIII, 1899, 83**, § 62). This text, however, may refer not to the Augustaion proper, but to the open space in front of it. Zonaras, III, 157 says that Justinian's column

The most famous ornament of the Augustaion was a tall pillar supporting Justinian's equestrian statue. A few observations about this monument, which has been the subject of extensive literature, are offered in Appendix II. For the present it will suffice to note that the column stood opposite the south-west corner of St. Sophia[57], and was on the left-hand side as one entered the cathedral through the south-west vestibule[58].

We shall now proceed to survey the monuments that stood around the Augustaion, going clockwise from the Baths of Zeuxippus.

4. The Milion

The Milion or *miliarium aureum*[59], like its namesake in the Roman Forum, was the point of departure of the great roads running out of the city. The Milion was outside the Augustaion, as Mordtmann was the first to show[60], yet very close to it, since the top of the Milion overlooked the Augustaion[61]. It is usually assumed that the Milion was a tetrapylon. This is not specifically attested by the sources[62], but is nevertheless quite likely. We often

was ἐν τῷ προαυλίῳ τοῦ μεγάλου ναοῦ. Gregoras, I, 275 likewise places it ἐν τοῖς προαυλίοις τοῦ μεγίστου νεώ. Pachymeres, *apud* Nic. Greg., II, 1218, says of the Augustaion, αὐλεὼν ἐξ ἀρχαίου τῷ θείῳ τούτῳ νεῷ οἰκοδομήμασι δημοσίοις περιτετείχισται. Nicetas Choniates, 307—09 calls the Augustaion an αὐλαία. A chrysobull of Michael VIII grants to St. Sophia τὰ ἐντὸς καὶ ἐκτὸς τῆς αὐλῆς τοῦ Αὐγουστεῶνος καὶ τῆς καμάρας τοῦ Μιλίου εὑρισκόμενα οἰκήματα (text in Zepos, *Ius graecoromanum*, I, Athens, 1931, 663; cf. Dölger, *Regesten*, III, no. 1955). In Palaeologan times the distribution of largesse after an emperor's coronation was made ἐν τοῖς προαυλίοις τοῦ τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας ναοῦ, ἤγουν ἐν ᾧ εἴρηται Αὐγουστεῶνι (Codinus, *De officialibus*, 88; cf. Cantacuzenus, I, 203). See also Pachymeres, II, 196 on the coronation of Michael IX: ὑπ' αὐγὰς δὲ συναχθέντων καὶ τὴν τοῦ Αὐγουστεῶνος αὐλαίαν πληρούντων.

[57] Gyllius, *De topogr. CP*, II, xvii: "non longè à Sophiae angulo ad Occasum vergente."

[58] Pachymeres *apud* Nic. Greg., II, 1218: ἐπ' ἀριστερᾷ τὸν νεὼν εἰσιοῦσιν. Similarly, the anonymous Russian pilgrim (ed. Speranskij, 130 = *Itin. russes*, 228) specifies that Justinian's column was on the right-hand side when one went out of St. Sophia by the south door.

[59] *Notitia*, 232. The fullest account of the Milion is still that of Du Cange, *CP Christiana*, lib. I, 72—74.

[60] *Esquisse topographique de CP*, § 5 (*Revue de l'art chrétien*, XLI, 1891, 24).

[61] See the account of Nicetas Choniates, 306—09, translated below, pp. 94 sq.

[62] Labarte (*Le palais impérial*, 33—34) thought that the Milion "était percé de part en part, et pouvait être traversé dans plusieurs sens." His argumentation is, however, fallacious because he confuses the Augustaion with the Forum of Constantine. Cf. Beljaev, *Byzantina*, II, 92, n. 2. Furthermore, the phrase διὰ τοῦ

hear of the vault (φουρνικόν, καμάρα) of the Milion[63], while Nicetas Choniates calls it a "huge arch" (τῆς μεγίστης ἀψῖδος) and in the same passage refers to its "arches" in the plural (ταῖς ἀψῖσιν τοῦ Μιλίου)[64]. The position of the Milion at the convergence of several main thoroughfares also suggests the form of a tetrapylon, and one may draw a parallel with the tetrapyla of Palmyra, Gerasa and Shehba (Philippopolis) and with the arch of Galerius at Thessalonica. The roof of the Milion was decorated with the statues of Constantine and Helena holding a cross between them, and other statues were set up all around[65]. In the vault of the Milion the monothelite emperor Philippicus Bardanes (711—13) represented the first five Oecumenical Councils to the exclusion of the Sixth which had condemned Monothelitism, but this council was added by his successor Anastasius II[66]. Later, Constantine V suppressed these images and replaced them by hippodrome scenes and a portrait of his favourite charioteer[67].

The Milion was apparently still in existence shortly after the Turkish conquest[68]. Without further excavations it is difficult to say whether the remains described on p. 184 belong to the Milion.

5. The Basilica

The βασιλική or βασίλειος στοά was essentially a big open court surrounded on all four sides by porticoes. A number of buildings were attached to it, including the Public Library which, in the fifth century, is said to have contained 120,000 books, and

Μιλίου does not necessarily mean "through the arch of the Milion." Such expressions should not be interpreted too literally. The Milion stood at a crossroads, in the middle of an open space. One could pass "through the Milion," i. e. across the square of the Milion, without actually going under the arch.

[63] *Cer.*, 32_5, 51_{14}, 56_{18}, 106_{24}, etc.

[64] 307_7, 308_{20}.

[65] *Parastaseis*, 38; *Patria*, 166; Cedrenus, I, 564; Suidas, s. v. Μίλιον.

[66] Agathonis diaconi *Peroratio* in Combefis, *Hist. haer. Monothelitarum*, Paris, 1648, 205 D; Mansi, XII, 193 E.

[67] *Vita S. Stephani iunioris*, PG 100, 1172; Cf. A. Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin*, Paris, 1957, 55 sq., 155 sq.

[68] The Milion may be the arch (*Kemer*) in the neighbourhood of St. Sophia mentioned in a document of Sultan Mehmed II, Topkapī Sarayī, no. 16/1141, p. 25. A facsimile ed. of this document, without a translation, was published by Tahsin Öz, *Zwei Stiftungsurkunden des Sultans Mehmed II. Fatih* (*Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 4) Istanbul, 1935. Cf. Ibrahim Hakkī Konyalī, *Istanbul Saraylarī*, Istanbul, 1943, 10.

the Octagon, seat of a university[69]. At the Basilica courses were given on Roman law[70] and cases were tried before public arbitrators[71]. The stalls of book-vendors were thronged by students and idle intellectuals[72].

It appears that the four porticoes were built *ca.* 410 by Theodore who had been consul in 399 and three times Prefect of the City[73]. The Basilica was burnt down together with the Library and, apparently, the statues of the Augustaion, in 476[74], and rebuilt in 478 by the consul Illus[74], which caused it to be known as the Basilica of Illus[76]. The conflagration of 532 destroyed the Octagon[77] and part of the Basilica designated as the προσκιόνιον or προσκήνιον[78]. To remedy the scarcity of water in the summer, Justinian excavated the area of the central court and built underneath a cistern that still exists today (the Cisterna Basilica or Yere Batan Sarayī). Procopius, who goes into some detail on this score, says that the excavated area included the open court and the southern of the four porticoes[79]. Since the three other porticoes do not appear to have been disturbed, it may be inferred that they did not overlap the cistern. If this supposition is correct, the Basilica must have been at least 150 metres long, so that the epithet ὑπερμεγέθης applied to it by Procopius is no exaggeration. We are told by Malalas that the Prefect Longinus (A. D. 542) rebuilt magnificently the porticoes of the Basilica (ἔκτισε δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐμβόλους τῆς αὐτῆς βασιλικῆς εὐπρεπῶς) and paved its court

[69] The Octagon should be placed between the Basilica and the Mesê since Theodore Aelurus, summoned from Alexandria by the emperor Zeno, fell off his mount by the Octagon as he was coming down to St. Sophia with a crowd of Egyptians (Theodorus Lector, I, 30, PG 86, 180—81; Theophanes, 121). The proximity of the Octagon to the colonnades of the Mesê is also indicated by Chron. Pasch. 622—23. On the Basilica and adjoining buildings see Janin, *CP byzantine*, 156—62; Guilland, "La Basilique, la Bibliothèque et l'Octogone de Byzance," *Mélanges d'histoire littéraire et de bibliographie offerts à Jean Bonnerot*, Paris, 1954, 97—107.

[70] *Anthol. Palat.*, IX, 660.

[71] Procopius, *Anecdota*, XIV, 13.

[72] Agathias, 127—28.

[73] *Anthol. Palat.*, IX, 696, 697.

[74] Suidas, s. v. Μάλχος: τὸν ἐμπρησμὸν τῆς δημοσίας βιβλιοθήκης καὶ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τοῦ Αὐγουσταίου καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ διεξέρχεται μάλα σεμνῶς. Cedrenus, I, 616; Zonaras, vol. III, 131.

[75] John of Antioch in Müller, *Fragm. hist. graec.*, IV, 618.

[76] Chron. Pasch., 619; Theophanes, 176; Cedrenus, I, 645.

[77] Chron. Pasch., 622—23.

[78] Theophanes, 181_{29}; Cedrenus, I, 647; Cramer, *Anecd. gr. Paris.*, II, 112.

[79] *De aedif.*, I, 11, 12—13.

(ἔστρωσε τὸ μεσίαυλον τῆς βασιλικῆς κινστέρνης)[80]. Some of the paving slabs were found *in situ* in 1934[81].

The bulk of our information concerning the Basilica belongs to the period between the fifth and the eighth century. After that time the Basilica seems to fade out of history. The tradition that in 726 Leo III caused the Octagon to be burnt because its professors were hostile to iconoclasm[82] is, of course, entirely fictitious[83]; it may be, however, that the Octagon was accidentally destroyed by fire, and that this calamity was imputed to the wickedness of the iconoclast emperor. The decline of the Basilica clearly appears if we compare the parallel accounts of it contained in the *Parastaseis* and the *Patria*. The former describes the following "marvels" of the Basilica: a gilded statue of Justinian II in a kneeling posture[84], a statue of his Khazar wife, a huge elephant together with his attendant, and a seated bronze figure of Theodosius I[85]. The *Patria* (following Treu's *anonymus*) refers to the statues of Justinian II and of the elephant in the past tense, implying that they were no longer in existence. It also mentions a statue of Theodosius I on two square pillars "behind the Basilica, near the Milion," and a seated statue of Solomon holding his chin and looking enviously at St. Sophia[86]. These two are described in the present tense. However, we know from other sources that "Solomon's" statue had been melted down and moulded into a statue of Basil I who placed it in the foundations of the Nea Ekklesia[87], more than a hundred years before the *Patria* was compiled. Thus, with the possible exception of Theodosius I's statue behind the Basilica, all the others had been removed by the tenth century.

The Patriarch Tarasius (784—806) used to organise banquets for the poor on Easter day among the ruins of the "old imperal

[80] Malalas, 482. Cf. *Patria*, 300: ἡ πλακωτὴ βασιλικὴ κινστέρνα.

[81] Mamboury in *Byzantion*, XI (1936), 274.

[82] *Patria*, 226; Cedrenus, I, 795—96; Georgius Monachus, ed. De Boor, II, 742; Zonaras, III, 259—60; Glycas, 522, etc.

[83] See Bréhier, "Notes sur l'histoire de l'enseignement supérieur à Constantinople," *Byzantion*, IV (1927—28), 13—28.

[84] Not of Justin II, as stated by Suidas, s. v. βασιλική. This mistake has been repeated by Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin*, 100.

[85] *Parastaseis*, 39—41, 67—68.

[86] *Patria*, 171—72.

[87] Leo Grammaticus, 257—58; Theodosius Melitenus, 180; Georgius Hamartolus, ed. Muralt, 760, etc.

house" (ἐπὶ τὸν καλούμενον τῆς βασιλικῆς ἑστίας ἐρριπωμένον ἤδη τόπον)[88]. Whether this refers to the Basilica, since it cannot possibly refer to the imperial palace, is not altogether clear. The Basilica is never mentioned in the *Book of Ceremonies.* I would very much doubt that the building with a wooden dome which, according to Ibn-Battouta (14th century), was reserved for judges and scribes, had anything to do with the ancient Basilica, as has recently been suggested[89].

A. M. Schneider believed that in addition to the open court of the Basilica there was, on its south side, a basilical hall[90]. The existence of such a building is, however, rather doubtful, since the designation χρυσόροφος βασιλική[91] could refer to the ceiling of a portico, while the *apsis* mentioned in the Palatine Anthology[92] could have been an exedra. A law of the year 440 prohibits the setting up of stalls and workshops in the Basilica (described as "inaurata et marmoribus decorata"), as well as celebrating weddings there and letting in horses[93]. It is hard to imagine that this law referred to a covered building[94].

6. North Side of the Augustaion. The Patriarchal Palace

The first St. Sophia, that of Constantius II, was consecrated in 360 and burnt down, in the melée that followed the expulsion of St. John Chrysostom, in 404. The cathedral was restored and re-consecrated by Theodosius II in 415. So much is common knowledge. The cathedral of Constantius and Theodosius II was, in all likelihood, a basilica, but there is little else that can be learned about it from literary sources[95]. The Theodosian church,

[88] *Vita Tarasii*, ed. I. A. Heikel, *Acta Soc. Scient. Fennicae*, XVII (1891), 402—03; cf. G. Da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Constantinople aux VIII^{e}, IX^{e} et X^{e} siècles," *Byzantion*, XXIV (1954), 225.

[89] M. Izeddin, "Ibn Battouta et la topographie byzantine," *Actes du VI^{e} Congrès intern. d'études byz.*, II, Paris, 1951, 195—96.

[90] *Byzanz*, 24—25.

[91] *Parastaseis*, 39_{9}, 40_{14}; *Patria*, 171_{16}.

[92] IX, 696, 697.

[93] *Cod. Iust.*, VIII, 11, 21.

[94] That the term βασιλική often meant an open colonnaded court is shown by G. Downey, 'The Architectural Significance of the Words Stoa and Basilike in Classical Literature," AJA, XLI (1937), 194—211, who discusses, amongst others, the Basilica of Constantinople.

[95] See A. M. Schneider, "Die vorjustinianische Sophienkirche," BZ, XXXVI (1936), 77—85.

part of whose façade was unearthed in 1935[96], lay very nearly on the same longitudinal axis as Justinian's church, namely about 34° south of east. There has been in recent years some heated debate concerning the situation of the original St. Sophia[97], but all to no avail. As far as we know, the church of Constantius stood on the same spot as Justinian's great cathedral, which would agree with the account of the fire of 404 as given by Palladius[98] and other authors. Certain archaeological findings beneath the nave of St. Sophia may possibly have some bearing on the church of Constantius, but further study of them is required before any conclusion can be stated[99].

Between St. Sophia and the Augustaion there was considerable space which, after the sixth century, was largely taken up by the patriarchal palace and its dependencies. Our knowledge of this palace is surprisingly meagre[100]. It was magnificently rebuilt after a fire (presumably that of 532) by the Patriarch John III Scholasticus (565—577)[101]. A little later the Patriarch Thomas I (607—610) added to it a large building that came to be called Thomaitês[102]. This was burnt down at the end of the eighth century, rebuilt soon thereafter, and still extant in the fourteenth century. The Thomaitês, the lower part of which housed the patriarchal library, overlooked the Augustaion and was joined to a gallery called Makrôn. Our sources also mention a building called αἱ Σύνοδοι which may have been the same as (or part of) the Thomaitês. The latter communicated with the

[96] A. M. Schneider, *Die Grabung im Westhof der Sophienkirche*, Berlin, 1941.

[97] See A. M. Schneider's review in BZ, XLV (1952), 220—21 of Muzaffer Ramazanoğlu's *Sentiren ve Ayasofyalar manzumesi* (*L'ensemble Ste-Irène et les diverses Ste-Sophie*), Istanbul, 1946.

[98] *Dialogus de vita S. Ioannis Chrysostomi*, ed. P. R. Coleman-Norton, Cambridge, 1928, 62—63.

[99] Mamboury in *Byzantion*, XXI (1951), 437, has suggested that the foundations discovered under the floor of St. Sophia by M. Ramazanoğlu in 1945 belonged to the church of Constantius. These foundations are in alinement with Justinian's St. Sophia.

[100] A thorough study of the patriarchal palace is lacking. See Du Cange, *CP Christiana*, lib. II, 143—44; M. Gedeon, Χρονικὰ τοῦ πατριαρχικοῦ οἴκου καὶ ναοῦ, Constantinople, 1884, 15 sq.; Paspates, Ἀνάκτορα, 78—84; Beljaev, *Byzantina*, II, 133—39; Antoniades Ἔκφρασις, I, 61—67; Ebersolt, *Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople*, 26—27; R. Guilland, "Etudes sur Constantinople byzantine. Le Thomaïtès et le Patriarcat," JÖBG, V (1956), 27 sq.

[101] John of Ephesus, II, 34, trans. E. W. Brooks (*Corpus script. Christ. Orient., Script. Syri*, ser. III, tom. 3, *versio*, 1936), 73; trans. R. Payne Smith, 145. This important piece of evidence has not been used heretofore.

[102] Nicephorus Callistus, XVIII, 44, PG 147, 417 C.

east end of the south gallery of St. Sophia, and must have therefore been situated near the north-east corner of the Augustaion. In addition to the Thomaitês and the Makrôn, the patriarchal palace included several other buildings, among which are mentioned a hall named Thessalos[103], various *secreta* (in particular a "big" one and a "small" one), cells for the clergy, a church of St. Abercius also dedicated to the Theotokos[104], an oratory of St. Theophylact[105], and a fruit garden[106]. Certain buildings were added by the Patriarch Michael II (1143—1146)[107]. The main body of the Patriarchate appears to have stretched along the south façade of St. Sophia and to have terminated near the south-west corner of the cathedral[108]. This is established by the following considerations:

1. The "big" and the "small" *secreta*, mentioned by the *Book of Ceremonies* and by chroniclers[109], were, in all probability, the room at the south end of the west gallery of St. Sophia and the adjoining room over the ramp, respectively[110].

2. The anonymous Russian pilgrim says that upon entering the vestibule (*pritvor*) of St. Sophia, one first encountered the chapel of St. Michael[111], "and from there, going a little way, on the right, is the entrance to the patriarch's palace[112]." The entrance in question was probably through the south-west ramp which originally opened into the adjoining vestibule. We know from other sources that the personal quarters and reception rooms of the patriarch were considerably above ground, perhaps on a

[103] Theoph. Cont., 150; Pseudo-Symeon, 648.

[104] *Synax. CP*, 89_{50}; Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie liturgičeskich rukopisej*, I, Kiev, 1895, 155—56; cf. Janin, *Eglises et monastères*, 7, 226.

[105] *Cer.*, 160. Cf. Janin, *Eglises et monastères*, 255. The Typicon of the Great Church (Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie*, I, 137) mentions the "oratories of the Patriarchate" (ἐν τοῖς εὐκτηρίοις τοῦ πατριαρχείου). Their *encaenia* were celebrated on Oct. 31 (*Synax. CP*, 184_3: τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ τὰ ἐγκαίνια τῶν εὐκτηρίων τοῦ πατριαρχείου).

[106] Antony of Novgorod, ed. Loparev, 23 = *Itin. russes*, 101.

[107] Nicetas Choniates, 323—24.

[108] I do not know on what grounds Vogt ("Notes de topographie byzantine," EO, XXXIX, 1940, 86—89) and after him Janin (*CP byzantine*, 174) should affirm that "la plus grande partie des édifices [of the Patriarchate], car il y en avait plusieurs, se trouvait entre Sainte-Irène et Sainte-Sophie."

[109] *Cer.*, 125—26, 157—58, 531, 636, 760, 761; Theophanes, 443; Nicephorus, *Opusc. hist.*, 76; Cedrenus, II, 16.

[110] I hope to demonstrate this in a forthcoming paper.

[111] Antoniades, Ἔκφρασις, I, 145—46, believes that the chapel of St. Michael was situated outside the southwest vestibule of St. Sophia.

[112] Ed. Speranskij, 129. This passage is mutilated in *Itin. russes*, 225.

level with the gallery of St. Sophia. Thus, St. Theodore Sykeotês, after an audience with the Patriarch Cyriacus (596—606), came down a hidden spiral staircase or ramp, the downgrade of which was called "the window" (εἰς τὴν κατάβασιν τοῦ κοχλία τοῦ κρυπτοῦ τὴν ἐπιλεγομένην παράθυρον)[113]. Shortly before the abdication of Michael VI (1057), the partisans of Isaac Comnenus gathered at dawn before St. Sophia and shouted to the Patriarch Michael Cerularius to come down. The Patriarch was at first unwilling to appear, and he locked his doors as well as the entrance of the spiral ramp (or staircase) that led up to the gallery of St. Sophia (τὰς ἑαυτοῦ θύρας καὶ τὴν εἴσοδον τοῦ ἀνάγοντος εἰς τὰ ὑπερῷα τῆς ἐκκλησίας λαβυρίνθου); at length, however, he was prevailed upon to come down[114].

3. Several texts suggesting the proximity of the Patriarchate to the atrium (λουτήρ) of St. Sophia are quoted by Guilland[115]. For example, when Leontius revolted against Justinian II in 695, the populace of the city gathered in the *loutêr*. The rebel with a few attendants went up to the episcopal palace and persuaded the Patriarch Callinicus to come down to the *loutêr* and address the crowd of insurgents[116]. Shortly before the death of Leo VI (912) a fire broke out in the candle shops (κηρουλάρια) of St. Sophia, which were presumably near the atrium, and spread to the archives (χαρτοθέσια) and the patriarchal treasury (σακέλλη)[117].

It is naturally very difficult to determine what buildings stood between St. Sophia and the Augustaion before Justinian's time. Our only evidence on this score comes from the *Vita* of St. Olympias, purportedly a fifth-century document, according to which the space south and east of the Great Church was occupied by porticoes, workshops, a private mansion with various dependencies, and the episcopal palace. Olympias (Chrysostom's correspondent), says the *Vita*, bequaethed to the Church all her country estates, "and furthermore the houses that belonged to her in the Imperial City, both the one called τῶν Ὀλυμπιάδος,

[113] *Vita S. Theodori Syceotae*, § 93, ed. Theophilos Ioannou, Μνημεῖα ἁγιολογικά, Venice, 1884, 445—46.

[114] Cedrenus, II, 635.

[115] "Le Thomaïtès et le Patriarcat," 33—34.

[116] Theophanes, 369.

[117] Leo Grammaticus, 285 and Combefis' note, 525; Pseudo-Symeon, 715; Georgius Monachus (Bonn), 870—71; Theodosius Melitenus, 199, etc.

close to the most-holy Great Church, together with the tribunal (? τριβουναρίου)[118] and the fully-equipped bath (*or* baptistery?)[119], and all the adjoining houses, and the bakery (?τοῦ σιλιγναρίου)[120], and also her house near the Constantinian public baths," etc.[121] On being appointed deaconess of the Great Church, "she built a convent at its southern portico; for all the houses that lay alongside the holy church, and all the workshops that were at the so-called southern portico belonged to her; and she made a way up from the monastery into the narthex of the holy church (καὶ ποιεῖ τὴν ἄνοδον τοῦ αὐτοῦ μοναστηρίου εἰς τὸν νάρθηκα τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας)[122]." Subsequently we are told that Olympias ministered to Chrysostom's needs and used to send him his daily food, "for there was no great barrier between the episcopal palace and the convent, save one wall[123]." The monastery, which was said to accommodate 250 nuns[124], was burnt down in 532 together with St. Sophia, and rebuilt by Justinian who allegedly re-dedicated it on Christmas day, 537[125]. Whether the new monastery rose on the site of the previous one is not made clear, nor do we hear of it again in later sources[126].

If the Life of St. Olympias is to be trusted, we must conclude that the monastery, a building of some size, lay to the east and south of St. Sophia and communicated with the narthex of the cathedral; that the episcopal palace was next to the monastery, in fact, roughly where we find it in later times; that there were, furthermore, an eastern and a southern portico (ἔμβολος), and a number of workshops at that spot. There is, however, some

[118] Liddell, Scott and Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 1940, lists, "τριβυνάριον, τό, dub. sense, written τρηβυνάριν in a list of stage-properties, Pap. in *Eos* 32.30 (v/vi A. D.)"

[119] τοῦ τελείου λοετροῦ. For the use of τέλειον with reference to baptism, cf. Clement Alex., *Paedagogus*, I, vi, 26, 2: καλεῖται δὲ πολλαχῶς τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο, χάρισμα καὶ φώτισμα καὶ τέλειον καὶ λουτρόν.

[120] This word seems to be unknown. It is probably derived from σιλίγνιον = finest white flour; so also σιλιγνίτης ἄρτος and σιλιγνάριος (a vendor of such flour). See Koukoules, Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός, V, Athens, 1952, 15 sq.

[121] *Vita S. Olympiadis*, *Anal. Boll.*, XV (1896), 413. Some extracts from this document are to be found in Gedeon, Βυζαντινὸν ἑορτολόγιον, Constantinople, 1899, 137—38.

[122] *Vita S. Olympiadis*, 414.

[123] *Ibid.*, 415.

[124] *Ibid.*, 414_{25}.

[125] *Translatio S. Olympiadis* by Sergia (first half of the 7th century), *Anal. Boll.*, XVI (1897), 44—46.

[126] Janin, *Eglises et monastères*, 395—96.

reason to be cautious. In the first place, it is rather surprising that the convent, if it stood to the east and south of St. Sophia, should not have perished in the fire of 404 which ravaged precisely that area. In the second place, Nicephorus Callistus, who appears to have used the *Vita,* says that the convent of Olympias was between St. Sophia and St. Irene, hence to the north of St. Sophia[127]. Perhaps Nicephorus was mistaken; on the other hand, he may have had before him a more correct version of the *Vita* or some other information that is not available to us today.

7. The Senate House. Eudoxia's Statue. Pittakia

The Senate House was situated east of the Augustaion and south of the Great Church, but separated from the latter by a considerable space. When, in 404, the followers of St. John Chrysostom set fire to St. Sophia, a strong wind[128] carried flaming brands to the Senate House which started burning on the side facing the palace and not the side facing the church. Between these two pyres people continued to go about their daily tasks[129]. Zosimus deplores the loss of coloured marbles such as were no longer quarried, and the statues of the Muses, whose destruction heralded the ἀμουσία that was to follow. On the other hand, the statues of Dodonian Zeus and Lindian Athene that stood on stone pedestals in front of the Senate House were miraculously preserved, although molten lead was pouring down on them from the roof and stones crashing down[130]. The statue of the empress Eudoxia, which had just been erected close to the Senate House and which was instrumental in Chrysostom's banishment, also seems to have remained intact.

Constantinople had two Senate Houses, the one domed, near Constantine's Forum, and the one we are concerned with which,

[127] XIII, 24, PG 146, 1013 A, C.

[128] Socrates, VI, 18, PG 67, 721 A says that it was an eastern wind (ἄνεμος ἀπηλιώτης), but in that case the fire would have spread west, not south. Antoniades, Ἔκφρασις, I, 8, n. 35 suggests that it was a northeast wind, very prevalent at Constantinople.

[129] Palladius, *Dialogus,* ed. Coleman-Norton, Cambridge, 1928, 62—63; Sozomen, PG 67, 1573; Symeon Metaphrastes, *Vita S. Ioannis Chrysostomi,* PG 114, 1185—88.

[130] V, 24, pp. 245—47.

like the first, is ascribed to Constantine[131], though Julian has perhaps a better claim to it[132]. Rebuilt some time after 404, this Senate House was again burnt down in 532[133], and was reconstructed by Justinian. Procopius describes the new building as being to the east of the Augustaion and having a porch facing west, composed of six enormous white columns, four standing in front and two set slightly back, flanking the façade on either side[134]. It is surely surprising that the Senate House, so splendidly rebuilt, should disappear from the pages of history after the reign of Justinian. The numerous references to the "Sinaton" (so named because it had been built by one Sinatus!) found in the *Parastaseis* and the *Patria* appear to pertain to the building near the Forum of Constantine[135]. The *Book of Ceremonies* never mentions the Senate House on the Augustaion, although it must have stood directly on the path of imperial processions. One may conclude, therefore, that the Senate House was either destroyed or came to be known by a different name. Could it not, indeed, have become the palace of the Magnaura? The Magnaura was also a basilica with an apse, and its main façade looked west[136]. Like the Senate House, it was situated to the east of the Augustaion[137], fairly close to the Chalkê. We shall have occasion to see that the

[131] Correctly distinguished by Th. Reinach, REG, IX (1896), 86 sq. Cf. Janin, *CP byzantine*, 154—56. The attribution of the Senate House on the Augustaion to Constantine is made by Malalas, 321 and Chron. Pasch., 528—29. They describe the building in almost identical terms as a basilica (Chron. Pasch. adds that it had a conch) with big columns and statues placed outside it. Cf. Hesychius, 17 = *Patria*, 139.

[132] Lydus, *De magistr.*, III, 70, p. 162; cf. Zosimus, III, 11, p. 127.

[133] Lydus, *loc. cit.*; Chron. Pasch., 621; Theophanes, 184.

[134] *De aedif.*, I, 10, 6—9.

[135] *Parastaseis*, 24—25, 49 sq.; *Patria*, 173, 201, 280.

[136] On the Magnaura, see esp. Ebersolt, *Palais*, 68—76; R. Guilland, "Le grand palais sacré de Byzance: le palais de la Magnaure," ΕΕΒΣ XXVII (1957), 63—74. The relation of the Magnaura to the Constantinian palace is very lucidly discussed by Bury, "The Great Palace," BZ, XXI (1912), 214—15. Reconstruction of the Magnaura by Dyggve, *Ravenn. Palat. Sacr.*, pl. XIX, fig. 45.

[137] All the scholars who have studied the Great Palace are agreed on this point. Particularly significant in this respect is *Cer.*, 214—15, describing the procession of the empress from the Magnaura to the bath, but the text is unfortunately corrupt. When the empress comes out of the Magnaura, the Blue faction stands εἰς τὸν δεξιὸν ἔμβολον τῆς μαναύρας, ὅς [or ὡς: οὗ Bury] ἐστιν ἡ πύλη [ὡς ἐς τὴν πύλην Reiske, approved by Guilland] τοῦ Αὐγουστέως [read Αὐγουστείου or Αὐγουστεῶνος] τὰ ἴσα τοῦ πίνσου, i. e. "in the right-hand colonnade of the Magnaura, where the gate of the Augustaion is [*or*, in the direction of the gate of the Augustaion], that is at the pillar." Guilland (*op. cit.*, 66 and n. 2) translates, "dans le portique droit de la Magnaure en direction de la porte de l'Augoustéon, dite aussi, porte du Pilier." Cf. Vogt, *Comment.*, II, 40, n. 1.

raised passage connecting the Chalkê to St. Sophia was also known as the passage of the Magnaura (p. 90, below). Furthermore, the Magnaura was easily accessible to the general public, and was used by the emperors when they wished to address the populace[138]. I am aware of the many difficulties raised by this suggestion, amongst others, that the Magnaura is mentioned (for the first time, if I am not mistaken) in the Life of St. Sabas in connection with that saint's visit to Constantinople in 531[139]. It may also be objected that the Paschal Chronicle speaks of the Magnaura in its account of the Nika riot[140]. For our present purpose, however, there is no need to pursue this suggestion any further, since it would require a reconsideration and, if proved correct, a rearrangement of certain parts of the palace with which we are not now concerned.

The silver statue of the empress Eudoxia was erected in front

[138] Thus, when the Caesar Nicephorus was apprehended on a charge of plotting against his brother, Leo IV, a *silentium* was convoked at the Magnaura, and the emperor laid the charges before the people (Theophanes, 450). Upon the retirement of the Patriarch Paul IV (A. D. 784), Irene called together πάντα τὸν λαόν at the Magnaura, and Tarasius was unanimously chosen to fill the vacancy (*Ibid.*, 458). The 350 members of the Seventh Council gathered at the Magnaura for the signing of the acts by the emperors (*Ibid.*, 463). Nicephorus I constituted a public tribunal at the Magnaura (*Ibid.*, 478—79; cf. 489$_7$), and the same was done by Basil I (Cedrenus, II, 204; Glycas, 547). At the Magnaura Michael I made public profession of his orthodoxy before the people (Theophanes, 497). Theophilus, shortly after his accession, convoked a *silentium* at the Magnaura to condemn the assassins of Leo V, the very men who had placed his father on the throne. Everybody was urged to attend this gathering (Genesius, 51). When he was on his deathbed, Theophilus again gathered the people at the Magnaura, and commended his wife and son to their care (Genesius, 73; Theoph. Cont., 138). It was customary for the emperor to make a public address from the steps of the Magnaura on the first Monday of Lent (*Cer.*, 155, 545). Leo VI, suffering from a disease of the bowels of which he died soon afterwards, was unable to perform this duty (Leo Grammaticus, 285; Georg. Monachus, Bonn, 870, etc). The fact that in the 9th century the Magnaura housed the University (Pseudo-Symeon, 640; Georg. Monachus, Bonn, 806) also indicates the accessibility of the building.

[139] Ed. E. Schwartz, *Texte u. Untersuchungen*, XLIX 2 (1939), 178.

[140] This passage concerns the third conflagration of the Nika riot on Jan. 17, 532. The insurgents, after being driven out of the Octagon by the soldiers, set fire to the Liburnon at the Magnaura (καὶ φυγόντες ἐκεῖθεν οἱ δῆμοι ἔβαλον πῦρ ἐπὶ τὸ Λίβυρνον ἐπὶ τὴν Μαγναύραν, καὶ συνδρομῆς πολλῆς γενομένης ἐσβέσθη εὐθέως). The words ἐπὶ τὸ Λίβυρνον are missing from the Paris ed. (338 A) and have not been translated by Du Cange. The monument in question must have been the *liburna marmorea, navalis victoriae monumentum*, mentioned by the *Notitia*, 232 in the Fourth Region. I do not understand why Janin (*CP byzantine*, 104) thinks that the Liburna of the *Notitia* was on the shore of the Golden Horn and that it should be distinguished from the Liburnon of Chron. Paschale. The Magnaura was apparently rebuilt by Heraclius and his son Constantine (*Anthol. Palat.*, IX, 655).

of the Senate House[141], in a locality called Pittakia[142], near enough to St. Sophia so that the disorderly dances celebrated round it could disturb the liturgy[143], but separated from the cathedral by a wide street[144]. The Pittakia must have been north of the Senate House, since it was in the direction of St. Irene[145], yet very close to the apse of St. Sophia as can be gathered from the account of a popular riot in the reign of Justinian. A member of the Green faction was being led to punishment for having assaulted the daughter of an imperial curator. When he was passing by the Pittakia, the Blues, forgetting their traditional hostility towards the Greens, intervened and carried the culprit off to the asylum of St. Sophia[146]. This asylum was either the high altar or the chapel of St. Nicholas just behind the apse of St. Sophia which enjoyed the right of inviolability (see below, p. 68). The Pittakia had an open court (αὐλή) with a statue of Leo I on a pillar[147]. It was a residential quarter, naturally very aristocratic owing to its proximity to the palace, and exclusive to members of the Blue faction[148].

The base of Eudoxia's statue, now to be seen in the courtyard of St. Sophia, was found in 1847 when the foundations of the Ottoman University were being laid by the Swiss architect Fossati[149]. Unfortunately, no exact record was made of the place of

[141] Sozomen, VIII, 20, PG 67, 1568 A. This is also attested by the two opening lines of the Greek inscription on the pedestal of the statue:

Κίονα πορφυρέην καὶ ἀργυρέην βασίλειαν
δέρκεο, ἔνθα πόληι θεμιστεύουσιν ἄνακτες.

[142] Theophanes, 79.

[143] *Ibid.*; Symeon Metaphrastes, *Vita S. Ioannis Chrysostomi*, PG 114, 1173—76.

[144] Socrates, VI, 18, PG 67, 716—17.

[145] Theophanes, 79; *Parastaseis*, 65.

[146] *Excerpta historica iussu Imp. Constantini Porphyrogeniti*, III (*Excerpta de insidiis*, ed. De Boor), Berlin, 1905, 175.

[147] *Parastaseis*, 65; *Patria*, 166—67; Cedrenus, I, 563. According to these sources, the name Pittakia derived from the petitions to the emperor (πιττάκια) which used to be deposited at that spot. Rather surprising is the view of A. P. D'jakonov that this name was due to a settlement of sailors (from πίττα = tar). "Vizantijskie dimy i fakcii v V—VII vekach," *Vizantijskij Sbornik*, Moscow—Leningrad, 1945, 156.

[148] See Manojlović, "Le peuple de Constantinople," *Byzantion*, XI (1936), 647—48.

[149] This base of white marble must have supported the porphyry column on which the statue stood. The relevant bibliography may be found in my article, "The Byzantine Inscriptions of Constantinople," AJA, LV (1951), 63. It was presumably in the course of the same excavations that Fossati found the upper jaw of the Delphic Serpent, now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum (inv. no. 18). See C. T. Newton, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, London, 1865, I, 44; II, 26—27; Musée Impérial Ottoman, *Bronzes et bijoux, Catal. sommaire*, Istanbul, 1898, 26—27, no. 148; P. Devambez, *Grands bronzes du Musée de Stamboul*, Paris, 1937, 9—12 and pl. II; Déonna in *Rev. de l'hist. des rel.*, LXX (1914), 133—36.

discovery. There appeared at the same time at a depth of 3 m. a Byzantine pavement consisting of slabs of dark stone 1 ft by 6 inches, very carefully laid, and "the remains of something like a triumphal arch" (ὑπολείμματα θριαμβευτικοῦ οἷον τόξου)[150]. Even if not found *in situ*, the pedestal must have been very close to its original location. There is no reason to believe that the pavement belonged to the Augustaion.

We have now surveyed all the principal monuments that stood around the Augustaion. By the beginning of the fifth century these consisted of a bath, a monumental arch, a basilica, two temples and a curia, in addition to the Christian cathedral. In other words, we have found here most of the usual buildings associated with a forum, which the Tetrastoon-Augustaion appears to have been before it was enclosed by a wall and turned into an αὐλή. The *Notitia urbis* mentions in the second Region, along with St. Sophia, St. Irene, the Senate House and the Baths of Zeuxippus, a *tribunal purpureis gradibus exstructum*[151] which may have also been on the Augustaion, although we have no evidence concerning this.

8. The Holy Well

As will be explained below (pp. 85 sq.), the Chalkê was connected by means of a portico (ἔμβολος) to an adjunct of St. Sophia called the Holy Well (ἅγιον φρέαρ). This portico enabled the emperor to proceed directly from the palace to the cathedral without crossing the Augustaion. It is, therefore, essential for us to ascertain exactly where the Holy Well was, since there has been some disagreement concerning its location. Labarte[152], Beljaev[153], Ebersolt[154] and Mamboury[155] have placed it against the middle of the south façade of St. Sophia. Antoniades, on the other hand, following Van Millingen, has identified it with an

[150] Constantius I (Patriarch), Ἐλάσσονες συγγραφαί, Constantinople, 1866, 381—84.

[151] *Notitia*, 231. Du Cange, *CP Christiana*, lib. II, 137, identifies this with the Tribunal of the Nineteen Couches in the palace, but he is probably mistaken in doing so.

[152] *Le palais impérial*, 29.

[153] *Byzantina*, II, 132—33.

[154] *Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople*, Paris, 1910, 22—24.

[155] "Topographie de Sainte-Sophie," *St. biz.*, VI (1940), 204.

extant well outside the south-east corner of St. Sophia[156]. Lately R. Guilland has re-examined the situation of the Holy Well on the basis of the *Book of Ceremonies* and has likewise placed it at the south-east corner of St. Sophia[157]. The conclusion of Antoniades and Guilland is without doubt correct, but since none of the above scholars has used all the available evidence, a new investigation of this problem may not be entirely superfluous.

The Holy Well owed its name to a precious relic, the well-head on which Christ had sat while talking to the Samaritan woman[158]. It is not known at what time this was brought to Constantinople. The Holy Well is first spoken of, if I am not mistaken, in connection with the triumph of Theophilus in 831[159]. At about the same time it is also mentioned in the Synodal Letter of the Oriental Patriarchs to Theophilus, dated 836[160]. The well-head was set in a special chapel which also contained the four trumpets of Jericho and the chair or throne (σέλα) of Constantine the Great[161]. At the same spot there was a miraculous icon of Christ

[156] Ἔκφρασις, II, 169—184.

[157] "Études sur Constantinople byzantine," JÖBG, V (1956), 35—40.

[158] *Diegesis*, 98. Cf. Nicolaus Thingeyrensis, *Catalogus reliquiarum CP* (Riant, *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, Geneva, 1878, II, 215): "Lapis qui erat super fontem, ubi Dominus locutus est cum Samaritana." According to Du Cange (*CP Christiana*, lib. III, 69), the Holy Well also had a painting representing Christ conversing with the Samaritan woman. The great scholar misunderstood, however, the miracle-story of the bleeding image which speaks merely of an icon of Christ. This error has been repeated in several later works.

[159] *Cer.*, 506—07.

[160] Sakkelion, Ἐκ τῶν ἀνεκδότων τῆς πατμιακῆς βιβλιοθήκης. Ἐπιστολὴ συνοδική . . . . πρὸς Θεόφιλον, Athens, 1864, 31—32, 43. The first passage is reproduced by Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 216**—217**. The original document published by Sakkelion first in the review Εὐαγγελικὸς Κῆρυξ, VIII (1864), fasc. 3, 4, 5, and then as a separate booklet (from which I am quoting), reprinted by Duchesne with an Italian translation (*Roma e l'Oriente*, V [1912/13], 222—39, 273—85, 349—66), remained, strangely enough, unknown to all the historians of Iconoclasm until it was re-discovered by Grumel ("Recherches récentes sur l'iconoclasme," EO, XXIX [1930], 99—100) and later by Vasiliev ("The Life of St. Theodore of Edessa," *Byzantion*, XVI [1944], 216—25). Cf. F. Halkin, in *Anal. Boll.*, LXXVII (1958), 64. Sakkelion's ed. is based on cod. 48 of Patmos which is of the ninth century (cf. Sakkelion, Πατμιακὴ βιβλιοθήκη, Athens, 1890, 37—38). The authenticity of this document is well-attested, but one may suspect that in spite of the short lapse of time between the date of composition and the date of the manuscripts, certain interpolations showing a very detailed knowledge of Constantinople found their way into the text which was very popular (its popularity is attested by the *Narratio de imagine Edessena*, Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 69**). Cf. below, n. 172.

[161] *Diegesis*, 98. The anonymous English pilgrim (*ca.* 1190) mentions the well-head, the four bronze trumpets which were "in pavimento" and, instead of Constantine's chair, a Constantinian silver cross inlaid with emeralds (Pont. Accad. Rom. di Archeol., *Rendiconti*, XII, [1936], 143).

which appears to have been later replaced by one of the Virgin and Child. A legend that enjoyed great popularity in the Middle Ages tells that a Jew was so infuriated at seeing the image of Christ at the Holy Well worshipped by the faithful, that he stabbed it with a knife, whereupon a stream of blood gushed from the wound. Frightened, the Jew took the image down from the wall and threw it *into the well*, from which it was later extracted, still bleeding[162]. This detail, if it is authentic, supports the view of Antoniades that there was at that place a real well containing water[163]. To this legend is often appended another one concerning an image of Christ (perhaps the same one) in a chapel called Plethron at the Holy Well. The second legend takes place at the time of the emperor Maurice. It tells of a notary who was taken by his wicked employer, a magician called Mesites, to a gathering of black demons and urged to worship Satan. The notary who was a good Christian made the sign of the cross, thereby dispersing the sinister conclave. Thereafter he took service with a pious patrician, and as the two of them happened to be praying of an evening at the Holy Well, the image of Christ turned three times towards the notary as a sign of gratitude[164].

Several later sources, all *ca.* 1200, speak of an icon of the Madonna and Child, and not of Christ, that had been stabbed by a Jew and emitted blood. This icon was in a corner of the Holy Well[165].

[162] Greek text in Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 216**—219**. Another version, combining this miracle with the Mesites legend (see n. 164), in Combefis, *Hist. haer. Monothel.*, 648—660; reprinted, without exordium and conclusion, by Anthoniades, Ἔκφρασις, II, 179—82. On other versions see BHG, III, 113, nos. 10—10a. Cf. also Andronicus Comnenus, *Dialogus contra Iudaeos*, PG 133, 873 (Lat. trans. only). On this dialogue, written in 1310, see F. Nau, *La Didascalie de Jacob*, *Patr. Orient.*, VIII (1912), 737—40, and A. Lukyn Williams, *Adversus Iudaeos*, Cambridge, 1935, 185—86. The stabbing of an icon of Christ by a Jew is a very common theme. Cf. Gregory of Tours, *De gloria martyrum*, § 22, PL 71, 724, and the legend of the Berytus image (p. 151, below).

[163] Synodal Letter, ed. Sakkelion, 31—32. The Jew, seized with fear, throws the image into the well, and the water turns into blood (ταύτην τῷ φόβῳ εἰς ἐκεῖνο τὸ φρέαρ ἔρριψε, καὶ εὐθέως ὅλον τὸ ὕδωρ αἷμα γέγονε).

[164] Greek text in Dobschütz, *op. cit.*, 226**—232**; Combefis, *loc. cit.* (combined with the legend of the icon stabbed by a Jew). On other versions, see BHG, III, 113—14, nos. 10b—10f. Cf. also Nau, "Vies et récits d'anachorètes," *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, VIII (1903), 93—94. In the Escor. gr. 21, f. 237 this legend is entitled θαῦμα γενομένον (sic) ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ εἰκόνι τοῦ Χριστοῦ Χαλκοπρατ [εἰων] (Revilla, *Catálogo de los códices griegos de el Escorial*, I, Madrid, 1936, 95—96).

[165] Anonymous English pilgrim, p. 143: "in ipso loco in angulo est imago sancte sanctarum Dei genitricis Marie, que portavit in ulnis suis Dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum, quem percussit quidam Iudeus cum cultello in gutture et con-

According to the Mesites story, the church or chapel of Christ called Plethron was in the same place as the Holy Well (εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ σωτῆρος τὸν λεγόμενον Πλέθρον ἤτοι ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ φρέατι)[166]. Why a church should have been called πλέθρον, which is a measure of length (= 100 ft) or of area (= 10,000 sq. ft), and which at Antioch denoted a building used for athletic trials preliminary to the public games[167], is difficult to explain. I suspect that the Plethron may have been the same as the chapel of Christ called φλετρόν mentioned in a newly-published anecdote attributed to John Moschus[168]. This anecdote was told by a cleric who had been to Constantinople and had heard there of a pious man named Christopher, a member of the palace guard. Christopher was in the habit of visiting churches at night, and sometimes went to the Chalkê of the palace and thence to a chapel of Christ called Phletron which had bronze portals (ἀπήρχετο καὶ ἐν τῇ Χαλκῇ τοῦ παλατίου, κἀκεῖθεν ἐν τῷ ἐπιλεγομένῳ Φλετρῷ τοῦ σωτῆρος· τόπος δέ ἐστιν οὗτος πάνυ σεβάσμιος καὶ προσκυνητὸς ἔχων πυλώνας χαλκούς). When he came alone to pray, the doors of the chapel opened of their own accord. After making his devotions, he went out again unnoticed. However, the people who lived in that neighbourhood often found the doors open at night, and fearing lest some theft be committed in the sacristy (ἐν τῷ σκευοφυλακίῳ) and the watchmen (ἑβδομάριοι) fall under suspicion, they kept on the lookout and saw the prodigy happen. This they reported to the patriarch who was at first incredulous, until one night he concealed himself in the gallery (ἐν τῷ κατηχουμενίῳ) and saw Christopher come in and burn incense, whereupon he offered up his praises to God.

This story is found in two manuscripts, the Marc. gr. Cl. II, 21 (tenth century) and the Taur. gr. C (twelfth century). The

tinuo exivit sanguis et aqua" (followed by the story of the miracle similar to the Greek text). Cf. Nicolaus Thingeyrensis, *loc. cit.*: "Imago S. Mariae cum Iesu Christo, filio eius; cuius iugulum Iudeus quidam cultello vulneravit, et manavit sanguis." Antony of Novgorod, ed. Loparev, 2 = *Itin. russes*, 87. This icon was the prototype of a figure of the Virgin with the epithet ἡ μαχαιρωθεῖσα, which appears on four lead seals of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection. These are studied in a note by G. Galavaris due to appear in DOP, XIII (1959).

[166] Dobschütz, *op. cit.*, 230**.

[167] See Paul Petit, *Libanius et la vie municipale à Antioche au IV^e s. après* J.-C., Paris, 1955, 126, 143.

[168] Elpidio Mioni, "Il *Pratum spirituale* di Giovanni Mosco," *Orient. Christ. Period.*, XVII (1951), 85—86.

editor, Elpidio Mioni, ascribes it to the pen of John Moschus († 619), but since the collection of edifying stories found in both manuscripts contain many items which are certainly not by Moschus, it may be wiser to remain cautious on this score. From the standpoint of topography, we should not perhaps expect great accuracy from a story told at second hand by a man who may not himself have known Constantinople. In particular, it is not made clear whether the *skevophylakion* and *catêchumena* belonged to the Phletron or whether, as Mioni believes, they refer to St. Sophia. The latter alternative seems to be more likely, but in that case one would have to assume that the interior of the Phletron was visible from the gallery of St. Sophia. The only inference I should like to draw from this text is that there was in the vicinity of the Chalkê a church or chapel of Christ called Φλετρόν, a word that means a well (φρέαρ) in modern Greek[169]. Hence it is quite likely that this chapel was the one of the Holy Well and that the enigmatic name Πλέθρον is a corruption of the vulgar word φλετρόν.

The Holy Well appears very frequently in the *Book of Ceremonies* as a place where the emperor prayed and lit tapers, distributed largesse, was received by the patriarch and bid him farewell. It would be superfluous to discuss all the relevant passages, except insofar as they determine the situation of the Holy Well. For the sake of greater clarity we may summarise the very abundant evidence under separate headings.

1. The Holy Well was in close connection with the *mêtatorion* (emperor's changing room) of St. Sophia and with the emperor's dining room.

This point is recognized by everybody, so it is unnecessary to illustrate it in full. It is also known that the *mêtatorion* was in the easternmost bay of the south aisle of St. Sophia. The dining room was *between* the Holy Well and the *mêtatorion*, and the door leading from the Holy Well to the dining room, where the distribution of money to the porters and cantors took place, was a *small* one[170].

[169] This was pointed out by E. Kriaras in Ἑλληνικά, XII (1952), 192—93, who believes that the text under discussion is not by Moschus.

[170] *Cer.*, 18, 68, 145, 184—85. I am quoting the last passage which is the most precise. On Holy Saturday, if it happens to coincide with the feast of the Annunciation, the emperor goes to the Skevophylakion of St. Sophia and then proceeds

2. The Holy Well communicated with the interior of St. Sophia by means of a *big* door. After entering it, one proceeded to the south (right-hand) side of the *bêma* and then to the sanctuary.

The procession from the Holy Well "through the door leading thence into the church" to the right-hand side of the *bêma* occurs several times in the *Book of Ceremonies*[171]. Here, for example, are the instructions for Monday of the first week of Lent: "The emperors . . . go as far as the Holy Well. There, after they have lit tapers and kissed the Holy Well, the patriarch meets them at the big door which leads from the Holy Well [*sc.* into the church], at the spot where the holy cross is exposed for veneration. After the patriarch has swung his censer before the emperors according to custom, the latter kiss him and thereupon they go in through the door which opens at that place into the right-hand side of the *bêma*[172]."

3. The Holy Well adjoined a staircase that led up to the east end of the south gallery of St. Sophia.

a. When, on the 23rd of November 867, Ignatius was installed for the second time on the patriarchal throne, he went up by way of the Holy Well to the south gallery and was greeted there by a delegation of patricians (αὐτὸς μὲν διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου φρέατος ἀνάγεται· πρὸς τοῖς ὑπερῴοις δὲ τοῦ μεγάλου ναοῦ διὰ τῆς δεξιᾶς πύλης εἰσιόντι προσυπαντᾷ αὐτῷ τῶν πατρικίων ἡ τάξις προσκυνοῦσα καὶ δεξιουμένη)[173].

b. The use of this staircase was in fact part of the ceremony of a patriarch's consecration. Thus, when Theophylactus was

behind the apse to the Holy Well. From there he does not return to the palace, "but turning back, enters the small door which is at the Well, at which he stands in the great processions and gives his copious gifts to the cantors and the rest while the treasurer calls them out. From there he goes through the *triklinos* in which the emperor dines during the great processions, and enters the *mêtatorion*," etc.

[171] *Cer.*, 27, 155, 163—64, 182.

[172] *Cer.*, 547—48. It must be the same door that is meant in a story inserted into the Synodal Letter, pp. 43—44 (cf. above, n. 160). The day of the deposition of the patriarch Nicephorus (815) an unnamed bishop had the following dream. A huge olive tree grew from the ambo of St. Sophia reaching up to the summit of the dome and filling the whole church with its branches. But behold, a negro came out ἐκ τοῦ δεξιοῦ μέρους τοῦ μιτατορικίου, axe in hand. He hewed down the olive tree and planted a wild tamarisk in its stead. Then a woman shining, as the sun [the Church] left the sanctuary with a cry of anguish. Thereupon, "a huge negro, all black, came in from the side of the Holy Well [the Patriarch Theodotus is meant], walking with the emperor, and he stood on the holy altar, and his head reached up to the great ciborium." This passage which abounds in precise topographical detail bears the stamp of a Constantinopolitan interpolation.

[173] Nicetas Paphlago, *Vita S. Ignatii*, PG 105, 544.

appointed patriarch on the 2nd of February 933, the emperors "went up the spiral staircase which is on the side of the Holy Well to the east part of the right-hand *catêchumena*, while they waited for the reading of the Holy Gospel[174]." This sentence also occurs verbatim in the chapter describing in general a patriarch's consecration[175].

4. The Holy Well was connected with the *diabatika* of St. Nicholas (a passage that ran parallel to the east side of St. Sophia, behind the apse) by means of a *big* door. It also had an outer door that opened on to the colonnade (ἔμβολος) leading to the Chalkê.

a. On important feast days the emperor and the patriarch went out of St. Sophia through the left-hand (north) side of the *bêma*, and then, by way of St. Nicholas, they entered the big door leading into the Holy Well. Having bidden farewell to the patriarch, the emperors went out the exterior door of the Holy Well (τὴν ἔξω πύλην τοῦ ἁγίου φρέατος) and returned to the palace[176].

b. The same itinerary, but without mention of the big door, is prescribed for Holy Saturday. From the north-east corner of St. Sophia (the Skevophylakion and the women's narthex) the emperor and the patriarch, "having both passed along the narrow passage of St. Nicholas, which is behind the *bêma*, proceed as far as the Holy Well[177]."

5. The Holy Well was near the chapel of St. Nicholas.

The anonymous Russian pilgrim places in the right-hand side of the chapel of St. Nicholas the icon which a Jew stabbed "above the left eyebrow[178]." This icon, as we know, was at the Holy Well, so that if the Holy Well and the chapel of St. Nicholas were close together, such a transposition could be easily explained.

6. The Holy Well was behind the altar of St. Sophia.

This is attested by all the Russian pilgrims. According to Antony of Novgorod, "the marble stone of the Samaritan well, hollowed out like a bucket," was in the "vestibule (*pritvor*) be-

[174] *Cer.*, 636. This spiral staircase was the same as the μητατωρίκιος κοχλίας mentioned on p. 548.

[175] *Cer.*, 566.

[176] *Cer.*, 34. For the outer door of the Holy Well which led to the *embolos*, see also 135_{18} and 163_{23}.

[177] *Cer.*, 182—83. Cf. 184.

[178] Ed. Speranskij, 131 = *Itin. russes*, 229.

hind the great altar[179]." The anonymous pilgrim places it "on the right, in the side-chapel (*na pravje v pridelje*)[180]." Stephen of Novgorod[181], Alexander[182] and Zosima[183] simply say that it was in the sanctuary. Since these indications accord very well with the position of the Holy Well, there is no need to suppose, as Ebersolt and others have done, that the relic was moved from the Holy Well to the sanctuary.

7. The door leading from St. Sophia into the Holy Well looked east. On either side of this door, outside the church, hung a slab of white Proconnesian marble with a cross "not made by hand." The miraculous icon of Christ was affixed to the east wall of the room containing the Holy Well.

This information is supplied by the legend of the bleeding image. I am reproducing the Greek text because it is unusually precise and detailed: ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς ἁγίας καὶ μεγάλης τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας κατὰ τὴν πύλην τὴν ἀποβλέπουσαν καὶ φέρουσαν πρὸς τὸ ἕῳον μέρος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ οἱ τίμιοι καὶ θαυμαστοὶ σταυροὶ ἔνθεν κἀκεῖθεν ἔξωθεν τῆς αὐτοῦ πύλης ἀπηωρισμένοι ἐν προκοννησίαις πλαξὶν ἀχειρότευκτοι ἵστανται . . . . ἔνδοθεν ὑπάρχει καὶ προσαγορεύεται τὸ ἅγιον ἐκεῖνο καὶ θαυματόβρυτον φρέαρ . . . ἐν τούτῳ τοίνυν τῷ τόπῳ καὶ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ τιμίας καὶ ἁγίας εἰκόνος ἐμμετεώρῳ ἀνεστηλωμένης πρὸς ἀνατολάς . . . .[184] Combefis' text likewise says that the icon was "by the east door of St. Sophia, where there is the holy mouth of that famous well of the Samaritan woman[185]." In the Dialogue by Andronicus Comnenus the icon is said to be "supra orientalem portam[186]."

8. The Holy Well was a tetrapylon and a place of passage.

This is shown by a poem of Nicephorus Callistus on the miracles of St. Nicholas. Although cited by Ebersolt, this text has not been used with reference to the Holy Well, perhaps because it is not easily accessible. The passage I am reproducing refers

[179] Ed. Loparev, 16. M^me^ de Khitrowo's translation (*Itin. russes*, 95—96) is not very faithful. On the meaning of the words *pritvor* (= narthex or lateral gallery) and *pridel* (= side-chapel having its own altar), see E. Golubinskij, *Istorija Russkoj Cerkvi*, I 2, Moscow, 1904, 69—70.

[180] Ed. Speranskij, 129 = *Itin. russes*, 226.

[181] *Ibid.*, 52 = *Itin. russes*, 117.

[182] *Polnoe Sobranie Russkich Letopisej*, IV (1848), 357 = *Itin. russes*, 161.

[183] Ed. Loparev, 3 = *Itin. russes*, 201.

[184] Dobschütz, *op. cit.*, 216**—217**.

[185] *Hist. haer. Monothel.*, 649C.

[186] PG 133, 873B.

to the chapel of St. Nicholas, allegedly built by Constantine the Great, behind the apse of St. Sophia.

νεὼν ἀνιστᾶ τῷ μεγάλῳ σὺν πόθῳ
ἀνάλογον μήκει τε καὶ πλάτους βάθει
καὶ πᾶσιν ἄλλοις εὐφυῶς ἠσκημένον·
ἄγχιστα δ' οὗτος τοῦ νεὼ τῆς Σοφίας,
πρὸς τοῖς ἑῴοις ἐμβόλοις ἱδρασμένος
ἔστιν ἐς ἡμᾶς εἰσέτι παραμένων.
τῆς Βασιλίδος κλῆσιν ἐμφέρει δόμος
ἐκ τοῦ σύνεγγυς στρογγύλου ναϊδίου,
ἐν ᾧ λόγος ῥεῖ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς πλημμύρων
τὸν κατὰ καιροὺς τὰ κράτη τῶν Αὐσόνων
κρατοῦντα καλῶς ἐξ ἀνακτόρων βάδην
πρὸς τὸν μέγιστον εἰσελαύνοντα δόμον
ἐκεῖσε ῥιπτεῖν τὴν στολὴν ἐνδυμάτων,
βασιλικῶς δὲ ταινιούμενον ὅλως
σὺν πορφύρᾳ βύσσῳ τε τῆς ἁλουργίδος,
περιφανῶς μάλιστα καὶ παρρησίᾳ
δι' ἱεροῦ φρέατος ἐκ τετραπύλου
πρὸς τὸν περιθρύλλητον οἶκον Σοφίας
βαίνειν ἀρίστως σὺν κρότοις εὐφημίας.

This may be rendered as follows: "He [Constantine] raises with zeal a church to the saint, its length corresponding to its breadth, and handsomely provided in all other respects. It still exists in our day, very nigh to the Temple of Wisdom, established by the eastern porticoes. This shrine bears the name τῆς Βασιλίδος from the circular chapel that is close by, in which, according to the tradition that has come flowing down to us, he who at a given time governed well the Ausonian state, proceeding on foot from the palace to the Great Church, put off his garments and, crowned in truly imperial fashion and clad in purple, went majestically and boldly, to the sound of acclamations, by way of the Holy Well, through a tetrapylon, to the celebrated House of Wisdom[187]."

Some explanation is here called for. The chapel of St. Nicholas, according to the *Patria*, was called τὰ Βασιλίδου after a certain

[187] Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἀνάλεκτα ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας, IV, St. Petersburg, 1897, 358. Reprinted in part by G. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos*, I, Leipzig, 1913, 352—53.

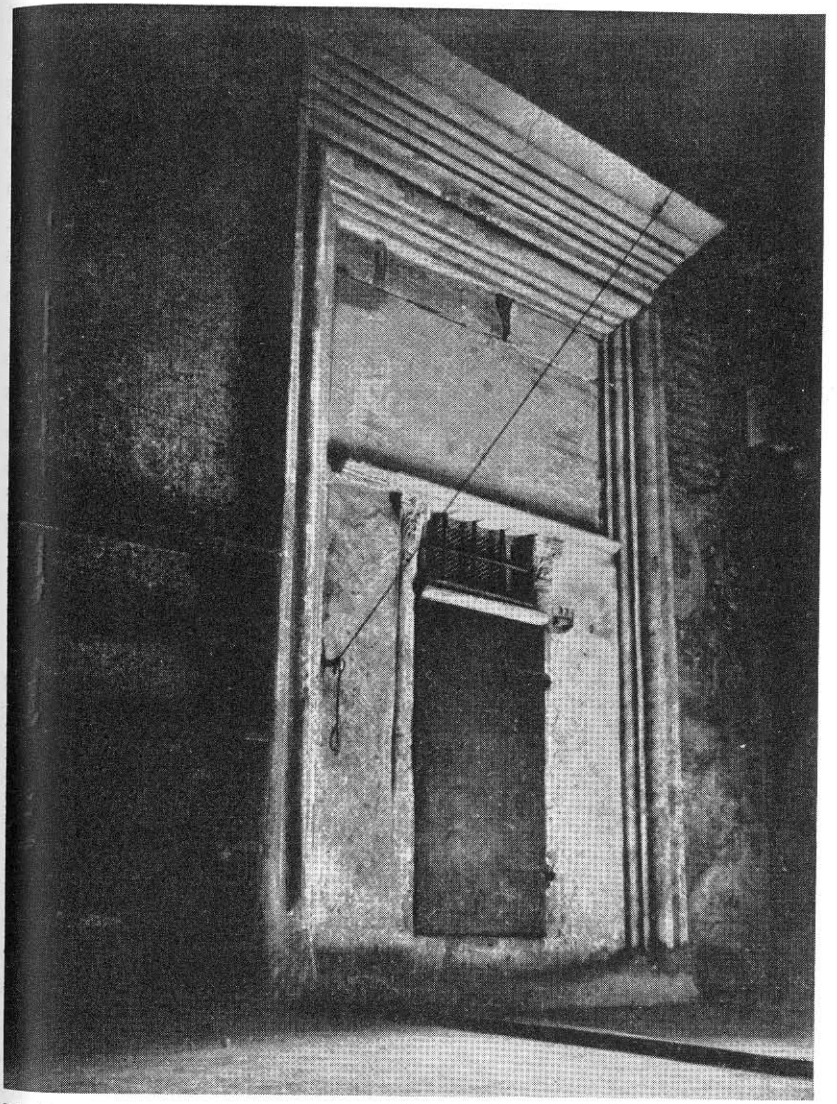

Fig. 7. Door connecting the Holy Well with the *diabatika* of St. Nicholas. *After Antoniades.*

patrician Basilides[188]. Nicephorus Callistus gives a different derivation, viz. that the chapel was called τῆς Βασιλίδος (from

[188] 279. Cf. Janin, "Les églises byzantines S. Nicolas à Constantinople," EO, XXXI (1932), 408—10.

βασιλίς = imperial office) because the emperor used to proceed to the adjoining circular building (this must have been attached to the Holy Well, and could not have been the circular building generally regarded as the Skevophylakion), where he put on his crown[189]. He then entered St. Sophia through a tetrapylon, by way of the Holy Well. The term tetrapylon fits in very well with the indications of Constantine Porphyrogenitus who does, in fact, name four doors at the Holy Well: 1. the little door leading into the dining room, 2. the big door that led into the south aisle, 3. the big door which communicated with the passage of St. Nicholas, and 4. the outer door opening on to the *embolos*. As for the ἑῷοι ἔμβολοι, they are probably the same as the *embolos* of the Holy Well, rather than the narrow passage of St. Nicholas, since the word *embolos* almost always meant a colonnade along a public street[190]. Nicephorus Callistus himself says lower down that there were private houses "in the midst," as he puts it, of the *emboloi*:

ἀνήρ τις οἰκῶν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἐμβόλων
ἀγχιθυρῶν δὲ τῷ νεῷ Νικολάου[191].

It should finally be added that the Holy Well was a place of passage connected with the thoroughfare that ran behind the apse of St. Sophia[192]. The story of the Jew and the bleeding image says so expressly, πάροδος γάρ ἐστι[193]. The "Saracen friends" from Tarsus likewise passed by the Holy Well on their way from their quarters to the palace[194].

By combining the data under the above headings it is easy to determine the position of the Holy Well. The big door connecting St. Sophia to the Holy Well, the ἑῴα πύλη, can be no other than the big door of the east bay of the south aisle. This door leads into a vaulted room measuring 7.90 m. × 5.50 m.[195], now used as a storage space. The two slabs of Proconnesian marble with the crosses "not made by hand" have naturally

[189] According to *Cer.*, 18, 39, 58, 135, 145, it was at the Holy Well, behind a *velum*, that the diadem was placed on the emperor's head.

[190] On this word see Koukoules, Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός, IV, Athens, 1951, 336—41.

[191] Lines 153—54.

[192] Perhaps the same as the street called Ktenaria, on which see *infra*, p. 81.

[193] Dobschütz, *op. cit.*, 217**.

[194] *Cer.*, 583. Cf. p. 80 below.

[195] Antoniades, Ἔκφρασις, II, 154 sq. and fig. 265.

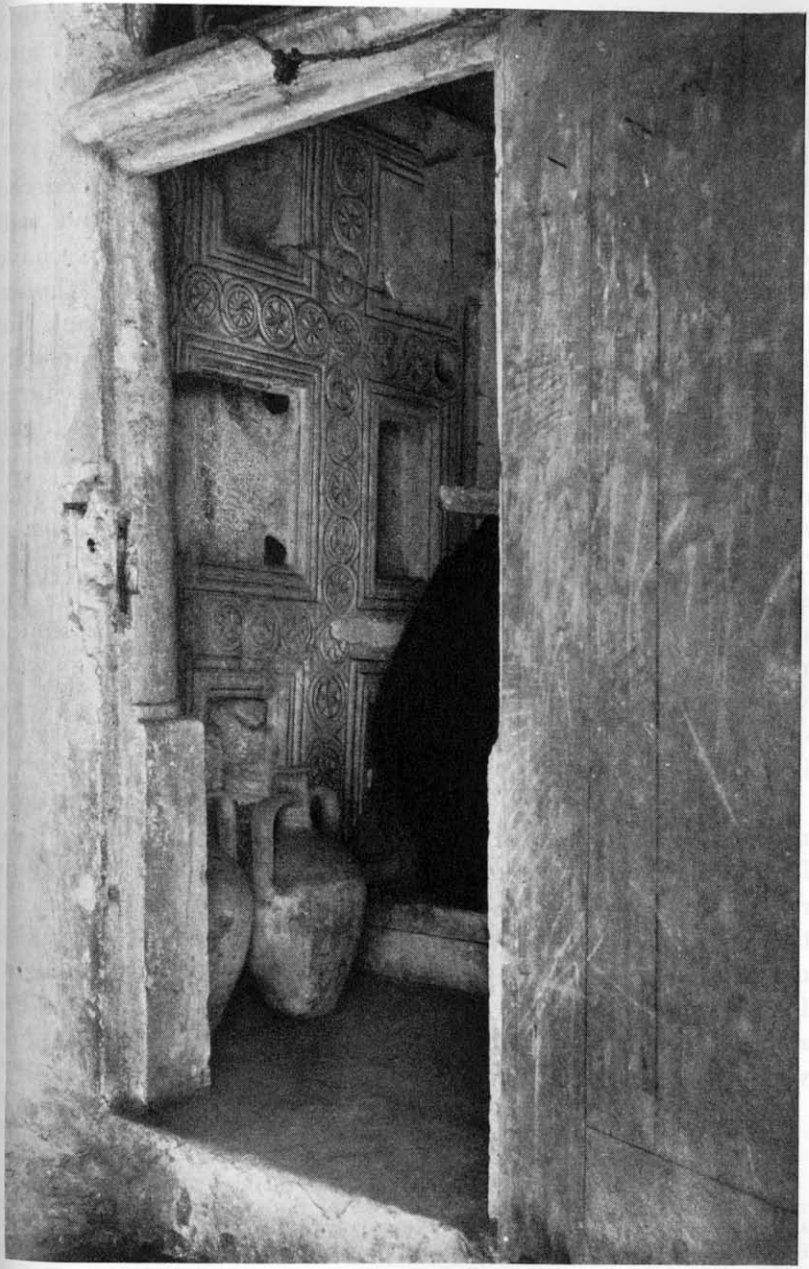

Fig. 8. Closet-like space within the door shown in fig 7. *Photograph R. L. Van Nice.*

disappeared. This compartment must have been part of the Holy Well complex. To the left is another big door of Justinianic construction, whose threshold has been considerably worn down by use. In late Byzantine times this door was made smaller by the insertion of two little columns carrying an entablature (fig. 7)[196]. It now leads into a closet-like space, within which a carved Byzantine slab has been set at an angle (fig. 8). The end wall of this closet is formed by the adjoining buttress. Here we have the big door that at one time led to the *diabatika* of St. Nicholas. The south wall of the room does not appear to be original, but it is difficult to determine its character because it was completely plastered over in the last century. At the base of this wall three Byzantine marble steps are still visible. It is, therefore, difficult to say how far south this room extended, except that it must have connected with the ramp that was originally there (the *cochlias* of the Holy Well), similar to the ramp at the north-east corner. This complex must have also included the well that is still preserved[197]. The small door leading from the Holy Well to the emperor's dining room cannot be located exactly. The dining room was probably outside the church, next to the *mêtatorion* which may have been the long narrow space (18.50 m. × 3.60 m.) originally separated off by a screen whose traces are still visible in the pavement of the east bay of the south aisle[198].

In the next chapter we shall discuss the *embolos* that connected the Chalkê to the Holy Well and the raised passage that led to the gallery of St. Sophia. Broadly speaking, my conclusions regarding the Holy Well agree with those of Antoniades. A thorough examination of the site, now obstructed by Turkish repairs and additions, ought to bring further evidence to light. It would be particularly interesting to find some traces of the spot, described as a circular chapel by Nicephorus Callistus, where the emperor put on his crown[199].

[196] After Antoniades, *ibid.*, pl. 58.

[197] Described by Antoniades, *ibid.*, 172—73.

[198] On the *mêtatoria* of Byzantine churches see J. B. Papadopoulos, Τὸ μουτατώριον τοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἐβδόμῳ ναοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ, BCH, LXX (1946), 428—35; *id.*, "Le mutatorion des églises byzantines," *Mémorial Louis Petit*, Bucharest, 1948, 366—72; D. I. Pallas, Ἀρχαιολογικά λειτουργικά, ΕΕΒΣ, XX (1950), 295—307.

[199] Could this have formed a symmetrical pendant to the Skevophylakion at the north-east corner of St. Sophia?

Chapter III

The Architectural Complex of the Chalkê

The monuments and places discussed in the preceding chapter were all situated outside the palace. Now that several fixed points have been established, the next step will be to determine how these were related to the Chalkê. For our present purpose there is no need to consider the palatine buildings that lay beyond the Chalkê, viz. the quarters of the imperial guards, the Scholarii, Excubitores and Candidati, since their situation is just as uncertain as that of the Chalkê itself, and cannot therefore be used as an independent criterion[1].

The architectural arrangement of the Chalkê is known to us chiefly through the processions that are so minutely described in the *Book of Ceremonies*. In the tenth century the Chalkê had two exits: the big bronze door, always used on stately occasions, and the little iron door, a lateral issue often used for going to the Holy Well of St. Sophia. We may begin therefore by following the itinerary of imperial processions in and out of the palace.

1. Processions to the Horologion of St. Sophia[2] and back

a. The standard ceremonial for a procession to St. Sophia, as described in the first chapter of the *Book of Ceremonies*, first takes us from the Chrysotriclinos to the quarter of the Scholarii. Thereafter it includes the following stations:

[1] The most recent treatment of the guards' quarters is by R. Guilland, "Autour du Livre des Cérémonies. Le Grand Palais. Les quartiers militaires," BSL, XVII (1956), 58—97. In this detailed study the author offers many novel conclusions, but it is difficult to follow his reasoning owing to the absence of a sketch-plan.

[2] The Horologion of St. Sophia was a clock or sun-dial situated near the south-west entrance of the church and the Baptistery. See Antoniades, Ἔκφρασις, I, 119—22; Vogt, *Commentaire*, I, 57—58.

i. "Within the Chalkê, i. e. at the gate of the Scholae that leads into the dome (θόλος) of the Chalkê." As the emperors advance, "within the bronze gate, in the great *tholos*, on the right, stands the medical corps acclaiming the emperor, while on the left stand the gymnastic trainers."
ii. At the bronze gate.
iii. "Outside the railing (ἔξω τοῦ καγκέλλου) of the Chalkê[3]."
iv. "Before the great gate that leads into the Augustaion."
v. "At the Horologion of St. Sophia[4]."

b. The Easter day procession, after leaving the Consistorium, pursues the following course: "From there the emperor, preceded by all of them [sc. the courtiers], passes through the Excubita and the Scholae, and goes out the big door, and passing across the Milion and the Augustaion (διερχόμενος διὰ μέσου τοῦ μιλίου καὶ τοῦ αὐγουστέως)[5], he enters the door of the Horologion of the Great Church[6]."

c. On Christmas day, "after the deme has finished its usual acclamations, [the emperor] passes through the Scholae and goes out the big gate of the Chalkê; then, going through the Mesê (διοδεύων διὰ τῆς μέσης), he enters by way of the Augustaion," and so into the narthex of St. Sophia[7].

Following Labarte, most of the scholars who have written on the Great Palace have supposed that the μεγάλη πύλη ἡ εἰσφέρουσα εἰς τὸν αὐγουστέωνα (§ a, iv, above) belonged to the Chalkê, in spite of the fact that the emperor had already gone out the bronze gate and passed the railing. Consequently, they had to invent a courtyard between the μεγάλη πύλη and the χαλκῆ πύλη to make room for the railing, whereas in fact such a courtyard is nowhere mentioned. They were further led to conclude that the Chalkê faced the Augustaion, a view that has since become general property. In Labarte's case, at least, there was no great inconsistency involved, since he believed that the Milion stood right in the middle of the Augustaion. But it has

[3] On the railing see below, p. 85.
[4] *Cer.*, 13—14.
[5] On this difficult phrase see below.
[6] *Cer.*, 63.
[7] *Cer.*, 132.

since been proved (see p. 47 above) that it was well outside the Augustaion. The question arises, therefore, why the emperor on his way to the Horologion of St. Sophia had to pass by the Milion and διὰ τῆς μέσης, when all he had to do was to walk across the Augustaion. Vogt was conscious of this absurdity, so he had recourse to the easiest expedient by assuming in each case a corruption of the text[8]. The awkward phrase occurs, however, in two independent passages and cannot be eliminated just because it does not agree with an arbitrary reconstruction of the Great Palace. Vogt is also mistaken in arguing that διοδεύων διὰ τῆς μέσης does not refer to the Mesê, but simply means "passing through the middle." The word μέση can only mean "middle" when it is followed by a genitive[9], or else when it is neuter, as ἐν τῷ μέσῳ[10]. In phrases like διοδεύων διὰ τῆς μέσης, διέρχεται διὰ τῆς μέσης (p. 76, § b), διοδεύων τὴν μέσην (p. 76, § c) there is no doubt that μέση is a proper name.

We have to conclude, therefore, that when the emperor went to the Horologion of St. Sophia, he had to cross the Mesê or main street before he reached the Augustaion. This was, in fact, pointed out long ago by Beljaev[11] and by Laskin[12]. As regards the phrase διερχόμενος διὰ μέσου τοῦ μιλίου καὶ τοῦ αὐγουστέως, it may be interpreted in two ways. Either the word Milion was used rather loosely for the entire open space in the middle of which that monument stood[13], or Prof. Guilland is right in suggesting that the correct reading should be διὰ τῆς μέσης τοῦ μιλίου, i. e.

[8] *Le Livre des Cérémonies*, I, 58 n. 1, 122 n. 2; *Commentaire*, I, 99—100, 102.

[9] Cf. Theophanes, 450_{23}, 457_{25}. The modern Greek βγαίνω στὴ μέση, as in *L'Achilléïde byzantine*, ed. D. C. Hesseling (Amsterdam, 1919), 45_{129}, καὶ μητινὸς γινώσκοντος ἐσέμπην εἰς τὴν μέσην, is a vague expression quite unsuitable for the precise context of the phrases under discussion.

[10] Cf. *Cer.*, 149_{17}: καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν δηριγευόμενος διέρχεται, ὁ δὲ τῆς καταστάσεως ἐν τῷ μέσῳ.

[11] *Byzantina*, II, 91.

[12] "Zametki po drevnostjam Konstantinopolja," *Viz. Vrem.*, VI (1899), 134 n. 1.

[13] That the word Milion was used rather loosely in this sense is proved by the protocol for mid-Pentecost Wednesday (cf. p. 77 below): "Then the Green faction accompanies [the emperor] as far as the Forum. Then the [urban] Blue faction as far as the Praetorium, and once more as far as the Milion. The urban Blue faction as far as the vault of the Milion. The urban faction of the Blues receive the emperor at the Milion, i. e. at the vault, and accompanies him as far as the *marmarôton*" (*Cer.*, 106). It follows that the "Milion" is in this case the upper limit of the Milion square at a short distance from the "vault of the Milion."

across that segment of the Mesê which adjoined the Milion[14]. To summarize, the route from the Chalkê to the Horologion of St. Sophia lay as follows:

i. the *tholos* of the Chalkê
ii. the bronze gate
iii. the railing of the Chalkê
iv. the Mesê
v. the big gate leading into the Augustaion
vi. the Horologion of St. Sophia.

2. Processions to the Holy Well through the Big Gate of the Chalkê

The easiest way of reaching the Holy Well of St. Sophia from the Chalkê was through the little iron gate and the *embolos* that led directly to the church. There were, however, a few stately occasions when the emperor went to the Holy Well through the big bronze door at the cost of a detour. In the latter case he was again obliged to come out into the Mesê, and then he turned right, but he did not cross the Augustaion.

a. When a triumph was being celebrated at Constantine's Forum, the emperor went out of the palace by way of "the Excubita, the Scholae, the Chalkê, and from the outer railing of the Chalkê the emperor turns right together with the procession and goes to the Holy Well[15]."

b. Here is the emperor's return from the Holy Well to the palace on Easter Sunday: "After the emperors and the patriarch have saluted and embraced one another, the emperor goes from thence, passes through the Mesê (διέρχεται διὰ τῆς μέσης) and enters the big gate of the Chalkê, and from there, by way of the Scholae and the Excubita," he reaches the centre of the palace[16].

c. Here is a similar return from the Holy Well on Epiphany day: "After they [the emperor and the patriarch] have embraced each other, the emperor, going through the Mesê (διοδεύων τὴν μέσην), enters through the big gate of the Chalkê[17]."

[14] *Actes du VI^e Congrès internat. d'études byz.*, II, 1951, 176 n. 2.
[15] *Cer.*, 608; same itinerary on p. 163.
[16] *Cer.*, 69.
[17] *Cer.*, 145—46.

d. If Holy Saturday falls on the same day as Annunciation, the emperor, who is at the Holy Well, "does not go out into the Mesê (οὐκ ἐξέρχεται ἐν τῇ μέσῃ) in order to return to the palace for the feast of the Annunciation, but turning back, he enters the small door which is at the Well[18]."

3. The Emperor's Return to the Palace from up-town

For easier reference, here is a list of the stopping-places arranged in parallel columns:

Return from the Church of the Holy Apostles[19]	Ascension day[20]	Easter Monday[21]	Mid-Pentecost Wednesday[22]
Forum	Forum	Forum	Forum
Praetorium	Praetorium	—	Praetorium
—	—	—	At the Milion
At the vault of the Milion	At the vault of the Milion	—	At the vault of the Milion
After a short while	After a short while	At the *plakôton* of the Milion	At the *marmarôton*
—	After a short while, opposite the Achilles, towards the gate Meletê	At the Zeuxippus	At the Zeuxippus
After a short while, by the railing of Chalkê	After a short while, at the railing of Chalkê	At the Chalkê	At the Chalkê

It is worthy of notice that none of these itineraries mentions the Augustaion. No enclosure or gateway lay between the Milion and the Chalkê. The emperor came down the main street which widened out at the Milion so as to form an open area paved with marble slabs, past the Baths of Zeuxippus on the right and the gate Meletê on the left, and so entered the Chalkê.

[18] *Cer.*, 184.
[19] *Cer.*, 51.
[20] *Cer.*, 56—57.
[21] *Cer.*, 84.
[22] *Cer.*, 106—07.

4. The Emperor's Return from the Church of St. Mary Chalkoprateia

The church of St. Mary of the Copper-market was to the west of St. Sophia. Its mutilated apse still exists today, wedged between a cinema and the Zeyneb Sultan mosque. After leaving this church, the emperor mounted his horse at the *embolos* of the street and rode uphill to the Milion. This itinerary occurs twice in the *Book of Ceremonies*:

a. Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin:
   1st reception: at the vault of the Milion
   2nd reception: after a short while
   3rd reception: after a short while
   4th reception: after a short while, by the railing leading into the Chalkê[23].
b. Annunciation (if it falls on Sunday of the middle week of Lent):
   1st reception: At the Milion
   2nd reception: at a short distance
   3rd reception: εἰς τὸν αὐγουστέα
   4th reception: at the Chalkê[24].

The latter text could be taken as evidence that the emperor entered the Augustaion on that occasion. The phrase εἰς τὸν αὐγουστέα may, however, be rendered "at" or "by the Augustaion," and not necessarily "in the Augustaion." It is more likely, I think, that the emperor skirted the enclosure of the Augustaion, without actually entering it.

5. The Mesê

The passages quoted in sections 1 and 2 above indicate that the Mesê, the main artery of Constantinople, extended to the very door of the Chalkê. This is confirmed by other sources as well. The *Patria* reports that of the four colonnaded streets built by

[23] *Cer.*, 32.
[24] *Cer.*, 168.

Constantine the Great so as to converge on the palace, two (actually one, which forked at the Capitol) had their starting point at the Chalkê and the Milion[25]. The same information is given by Malalas[26] and the Paschal Chronicle[27], to wit that Constantine built two porticoes (meaning the two porticoes on either side of the Mesê) *from the entrance of the palace* to the Forum, and called this street Regia[28]. In a popular outbreak against the emperor Anastasius in 513 the houses adjoining this street were burnt along a distance of 94 intercolumniations: "combustaque est civitas ἀπὸ τῆς Χαλκῆς quod vocant usque ad Constantini forum supra longitudinem plateae columnarum XCIV[29]." The distance from the Chalkê to the Forum of Constantine is approximately 600 m. as the crow flies, so that if the number of columns is correctly reported, they were spaced at intervals of about 6 m. from one another. Theophanes, in speaking of the damage wrought during the Nika riot, says that the porticoes were burnt "from the vault of the Forum as far as the Chalkê[30]." The continuation of the Mesê from the Milion to the Chalkê also explains an ordinance of the *Prefect's Book*, according to which dealers in unguents, spices and dyes should set up their counters (ἀββάκια) in a row between the holy image of Christ, which was over the main door of the Chalkê, and the Milion, as the sweet smell of their wares was particularly fitting both for the holy icon and the entrance of the imperial palace[31].

An analogy may also be drawn with Antioch. According to Libanius, the island in the Orontes had four porticoes radiating at right angles from a central point or "navel". Three of these extended as far as the walls of the island, while the fourth, shorter but more beautiful than the others, formed the approach to Diocletian's palace (ἡ δὲ τετάρτη βραχυτέρα μέν, καλλίων δὲ

[25] *Patria*, 148: οἱ δὲ ἕτεροι δύο ἔμβολοι ἀπὸ τῆς Χαλκῆς καὶ τοῦ Μιλίου καὶ τοῦ φόρου μέχρι τοῦ Ταύρου καὶ τοῦ Βοὸς καὶ τοῦ Ἑξακιονίου. Cf. A. M. Schneider, "Strassen und Quartiere Konstantinopels," *Mitt. d. Deutsch. Archäol. Inst.*, III (1950), 71; Janin, *CP byzantine*, 37.

[26] 321.

[27] 528.

[28] There are four passages in the *Book of Ceremonies* (230, 388, 404, 415) which mention the Regia, probably meaning the Mesê. They are discussed by Guilland in *Actes du VI^e Congrès internat. d'études byz.*, II, 174—76. I have not used these passages because in all four of them the context is extremely vague.

[29] Victor Tonnonensis, *Chronica*, MGH, *Auct. ant.*, XI, 195.

[30] 184: καὶ ἐκάησαν οἱ ἔμβολοι ἀπὸ τῆς καμάρας τοῦ φόρου ἕως τῆς Χαλκῆς.

[31] *Le Livre du Préfet*, ed. Jules Nicole, Geneva, 1893, 41.

ὅσον βραχυτέρα, οἷον τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐγγύθεν ἐφορμοῦσιν ἀπαντᾷ γιγνομένη αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ προπυλαίων)[32]. At the point of intersection stood the Tetrapylon of the Elephants, where Julian posted up his *Misopogon*[33]. At Constantinople its place is taken by the Milion. It may be pure coincidence that behind the Milion was a huge statue of an elephant[34]. Although the parallelism between the two cities is not, of course, complete, one point of resemblance is that the main longitudinal street, after reaching the tetrapylon, continued for a short distance to the door of the palace.

The name Mesê was given to the great artery, the modern Divan Yolu, which led up to the Forum of Constantine and further on to the Capitol, at which point it divided, one branch of it continuing to the Golden Gate, the other to the church of the Holy Apostles and to the Charisius (Adrianople) gate. Both branches were apparently called by the same name[35]. Upon reaching the Chalkê, the Mesê did not come to a dead end, but turned left and continued in a northerly direction behind the apse of St. Sophia. This is suggested by the fact that when the emperor went from the Chalkê to the Holy Well (section 2, above), he crossed the Mesê and not the Augustaion. We are also told that the Saracen envoys from Tarsus, on being summoned to an audience in the palace, left their lodgings on horseback, went past the Holy Well and dismounted at the railing of the Chalkê[36]. The location of the Saracens' lodgings is not known, but the mention of the Holy Well suggests that the ambassadors came riding behind the apse of St. Sophia. The street they followed was probably the one called Ktenaria which is mentioned

[32] *Orat.* XI, 205. Restored plan of Antioch in C. R. Morey, *The Mosaics of Antioch*, New York, 1938, 17. Cf. Grabar, *Martyrium*, I, Paris, 1946, 218; G. Downey, "The Palace of Diocletian at Antioch," *Annales archéologiques de Syrie*, III (1953), 106—16.

[33] Malalas, 328. This tetrapylon was destroyed by the earthquake of 458 (Evagrius, *Hist. eccles.*, II, 12, ed. Bidez — Parmentier, 64).

[34] *Parastaseis*, 40 = *Patria*, 171.

[35] Cf. Theophanes, 102_9 (with reference to the church of the Holy Apostles), 267_{31} (with reference to the church of the Forty Martyrs), 369_{29} (with reference to the Forum Bovis), 442_{11} (with reference to *ta Pelagiou*, a quarter near the Golden Gate), 453_{16} (with reference to the Praetorium). On the Mesê see Guilland, *Actes du VI^e Congrès internat. d'études byz.*, II, 171—82; Janin, *CP byzantine*, 361—62. *Cer.*, 76_2 says that the emperor also followed the Mesê from the church of St. Polyeuctes to that of the Holy Apostles.

[36] *Cer.*, 583.

in connection with a miracle of St. Nicholas. We are told that at the time of the emperor Romanus of pious memory a young man became lame owing to demonic influence. On the feast of St. Nicholas he bought a lantern and set out for the saint's church called τῶν Ἰβήρου (situation unknown). However, as he reached the street Ktenaria by St. Sophia (ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ τῇ καλουμένῃ Κτεναρία τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ μεγάλης Σοφίας), he met an old man who bade him turn back and proceed instead to the church of St. Nicholas τὸν Βασιλίδος (behind the apse of St. Sophia; see above, p. 68). On reaching the latter church, the young man found himself alone, and realizing that his guide had been none other than the saint himself, he was immediately healed. In the metrical paraphrase of this miracle by Nicephorus Callistus (lines 94—95) the meeting takes place "right at the back of the church of St. Sophia":

ὄπισθεν εὐθὺς τοῦ νεὼ τῆς Σοφίας
τούτῳ συναντᾷ τῶν Μύρων ἀρχιθύτης[37].

The Ktenaria is also mentioned in connection with the reestablishment of Orthodoxy in 843. On that occasion the young emperor Michael with his mother Theodora and the whole senate went to St. Sophia holding tapers. They were joined by the patriarch and from the holy altar they went in procession "as far as the imperial gates called Ktenaria" (κατῆλθον [or ἀπῆλθον] λιτανεύοντες μέχρι τῶν βασιλικῶν πυλῶν τῶν λεγομένων Κτεναρίων), and then returned to the church[38]. This account is, unfortunately, too vague to be of any topographical value.

We shall have occasion to speak again of the street that went from the Chalkê to the east end of St. Sophia when we discuss the Raised Passage and the *embolos* of the Holy Well (*infra*, pp. 87 sq).

[37] G. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos*, I, 350—51.

[38] Regel, *Analecta byzantino-russica*, St. Petersburg, 1891, 38 = Combefis, *Historia haer. Monothel.*, 738 D. Cf. Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin*, 206—07. The κτενάριοι must have been sellers or makers of combs, but I do not find this word elsewhere. Koukoules, in his chapter on trades, lists the κτενιοποιοί who apparently made combs for weaving (Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός, II 1, 1948, 199).

6. The Gate Meletê and the Portico of Achilles

The "great gate leading into the Augustaion" which we have already encountered in the standard procession to St. Sophia[39] was certainly the same as the "great gate of Meletê," as can be seen by comparing that procession with the programme of Christmas-day acclamations. On the latter occasion, the emperor, who is going from the palace to the Horologion of St. Sophia, stops at the following places to receive the acclamations of the factions:

3rd reception: inside the Chalkê
4th reception: outside the Chalkê
5th reception: "at the so-called Achilles, near the great gate of Meletê" (εἰς τὸν λεγόμενον Ἀχιλλέα πλησίον τῆς μεγάλης πύλης τῆς Μελέτ⟨ης⟩)
6th reception: at the Horologion of St. Sophia[40].

I have already quoted the emperor's return to the palace on the feast of the Ascension. The reception at the Milion was followed by one "opposite the Achilles, towards the gate Meletê," and the last reception was a short distance further on, at the railing of the Chalkê[41].

Two special studies have been devoted to the gate Meletê[42], without, however, shedding too much light on it. Vogt has suggested that the library of Constantine the Great was situated at that spot, but there is nothing to support this view except the word Meletê itself which, if it is not a proper name, means "study". It does not appear profitable to indulge in such hypotheses, since the origin of many place-names in Constantinople was lost in the mists of antiquity, and was quite forgotten by the tenth century, witness the puerile etymologies supplied by the *Patria*. Another interesting instance of this is that in the early seventh century the forecourt (προαύλιον) of the palace was called ἀμπέλιον (vineyard). When Phocas gained possession of Constantinople, the members of the Green faction wanted to

[39] *Cer.*, 14,. Cf. above, p. 74.
[40] *Cer.*, 37—38. Cf. Vogt's ed., I, 30—31.
[41] *Cer.*, 56—57.
[42] P. Waltz, "Mélétê," *Byzantion*, XIII (1938), 183—92; Vogt, "Encore Mélétê," *ibid.*, 193—96.

acclaim the new emperor at that spot, but the Blue faction opposed this move and a disturbance followed[43]. The name ἀμπέλιον may well have gone back to pre-Severan times, when that whole area is said to have been covered with gardens and groves[44].

An epigram of the Palatine Anthology informs us that a church or chapel (νηός) was set up ἐν τῇ μελέτῃ in honour of Justin I and of Justinian by the consul Theodore, hence between 525 and 527[45]. The next epigram, labelled ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ, speaks of a monument (ἔργον) of Justin I and Justinian, erected by the same Theodore, which displayed a resplendent mass of metal (λαμπόμενον στεροπῇσιν ἀμετρήτοιο μετάλλου). The wording of this epigram is so vague that it is impossible to tell what is meant beyond the fact that it was probably a bronze statue. If the Meletê of these epigrams refers to the same place that is mentioned in the *Book of Ceremonies*, it may be supposed that Theodore's chapel disappeared in the conflagration of January 532. The *Parastaseis* mentions statues of Justin I and of his family in front of the Chalkê (see p. 101 below), so it is possible that Theodore's group of statuary may have survived the Nika riot.

The gate Meletê, which must have opened through the south wall of the Augustaion, was, as we have seen "opposite the Achilles." This indication becomes intelligible in the light of the triumph celebrated by Theophilus in 831 after his Cilician victory over the Arabs[46]. The triumphal procession came down the Mesê as far as the Milion. There the senators dismounted and walked in front of the emperor to the Well of St. Sophia (presumably the Holy Well). The emperor himself and those who had taken part in the campaign remained on horseback until they reached the Well. There the emperor alighted and entered St. Sophia to offer up his prayers. He came out by the same door and walked to the Chalkê, in front of which a platform or rostrum had been set up. In the middle of this platform was a cross, on one side a golden organ called the Prime Miracle, on the other

[43] Theophylactus Simocatta, 304.

[44] Hesychius, 15 (grove of Hercules on the site of the baths of Zeuxippus); *Patria*, 137 (gardens on the site of the Hippodrome).

[45] *Anthol. Palat.*, I, 97. On Theodore's dates see Grégoire's note, *Byzantion*, XIII (1938), 176 n. 1.

[46] Cf. Bury, *History of the Eastern Roman Empire*, London, 1912, 127—28.

the emperor's throne. Theophilus sat down on the throne and received from a delegation of citizens a gift of gold bracelets which he put on. After delivering a speech about his victory, he got up, mounted his horse and, passing along the *diabatika* of Achilles and the side of the Zeuxippus (διῆλθε διά τε τῶν διαβατικῶν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως καὶ τῶν πλαγίων τοῦ Ζευξίππου), he came out into the "uncovered" Hippodrome (i. e. the great Hippodrome) and entered the palace under the Cathisma[47].

The *diabatika* of Achilles must have been, therefore, the colonnade alongside the Mesê, on the left as one went out of the Chalkê, consequently opposite the gate Meletê. These *diabatika* are not mentioned elsewhere. Their name could have come from a statue of Achilles, whose presence would have been appropriate near the baths of Zeuxippus[48]. It may also be recalled that Justinian's great equestrian statue in the Augustaion was represented in "Achillean garb"[49].

7. The Porphyry Omphalos and the Railing

Over the main door of the Chalkê was an icon of Christ which we shall discuss in the next chapter. In front of this door and consequently of the icon there was a circular plaque of porphyry in the pavement[50]. Leo V came over to this *omphalos* after his coronation (813) to give thanks to Our Lord's image. There he took off his cloak (*colobion*) and passed it on to his equerry, Michael the Amorian, who promptly put it on — a bad omen that came to be remembered afterwards[51]. Romanus I remitted the debts of all the citizens and burnt the deeds at the "purple omphalos of the Chalkê[52]."

[47] *Cer.*, 506—07.

[48] A statue of Achilles in the baths of Zeuxippus is described in *Anthol. Palat.*, II, 291—96. There was also a bath of Achilles which was situated in a different part of the city. Cf. Janin, *CP byzantine*, 209—10, who is, however, mistaken in saying, "le *Livre des Cérémonies* semble le confondre avec le Zeuxippe." There was no connection between the portico of Achilles and the bath of the same name.

[49] Cf. G. Downey, "Justinian as Achilles," *Trans. of the Amer. Philol. Assoc.*, LXXI (1940), 68—77, and Appendix to Loeb ed. of Procopius, VII, 395—98.

[50] Theophanes, 285. The *omphalos* was not inside the Chalkê, as affirmed by Ebersolt, *Le grand palais*, 21.

[51] Genesius, 6—7; Theoph. Cont., 18—19; Pseudo-Symeon, 604.

Theoph. Cont., 429; Cedrenus, II, 318.

At this spot was also the balustrade or "outer railing" (κάγκελλον, ἔξω κάγκελλον) that we have already encountered several times. Ebersolt, who places it in the imaginary courtyard between the bronze door and the big gate leading into the Augustaion, admits that he does not understand its purpose[53]. Actually, it marked the spot where, with the exception of the emperor and his closest relatives, everybody else was obliged to dismount[54], so that the horses were handed over to grooms who either led them away to a stable or held them in wait at the railing. Isaac I Comnenus placed his kinsmen on the same footing as his other subjects and ordered even his brother to alight from his horse at the "outer entrance of the palace[55]." When Manuel I, immediately after his accession, was about to enter the gate, "beyond which only the emperors are allowed to alight from the saddle," his Arabian horse reared and refused for a long time to cross the threshold, which was construed as a good omen by the court flatterers[56]. During his visit to Manuel's court, Baldwin III, king of Jerusalem, was too proud to follow Byzantine usage and "dismounted at the same spot where the emperor is accustomed to do so[57]." This point of etiquette survived into Turkish times, since it was only the Sultan who could enter on horseback the second gate of the Seraglio[58].

8. The Small Iron Gate

In addition to the big bronze gate the Chalkê possessed a less imposing exit, the small iron gate which is mentioned very often in the *Book of Ceremonies,* always in connection with processions to the Holy Well. We have discussed above (pp. 76—77) the few solemn occasions when the emperor went to the Holy Well through the big bronze gate, no doubt with a view to a more pompous public appearance. Ordinarily, however, he chose the shortest way which took him directly to the Holy Well by means

[53] *Le grand palais*, 23 n. 2.
[54] *Cer.*, 583; cf. 84, 107, etc.
[55] Psellus, *Chronogr.*, II, 128.
[56] Nicetas Choniates, 69.
[57] Cinnamus, 185.
[58] Richard Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes*, London, 1638, 832.

of a portico (*embolos*) communicating directly with the small iron gate.

To avoid quoting *in extenso* all the processions that used this shortcut, we shall merely extract from them such topographical indications as they contain. Going from the palace to the Holy Well, we find in succession the following places (for greater convenience I have inverted the order in the case of processions coming back to the palace):

1. "Inside the Chalkê, by the gate which leads to the Scholae[59]"

2. "the narrow passage (στενάκιον) which leads out to the *embolos* of the Holy Well[60]"

3. "outside the Chytos of the Chalkê, at the arch of the vault which is there, at the iron gate" (εἰς τὴν ἔξω τοῦ χυτοῦ τῆς Χαλκῆς τοῦ ἐκεῖσε φορνικοῦ καμάραν εἰς τὴν σιδηρᾶν πύλην)[61]; or "outside the iron gate of the same narrow passage, where the arch is" (ἔξω γὰρ τῆς σιδηρᾶς πύλης τοῦ αὐτοῦ στενακίου, ἐν ᾧ τὸ εἴλημά ἐστιν)[62]; or "outside the vault of the iron gate" (ἔξω τοῦ θόλου τῆς σιδηρᾶς πύλης)[63]; or "the small gate of the Chalkê"[64]; or "the Chytos of the small gate of the Chalkê" (διὰ τοῦ χυτοῦ τῆς μικρᾶς πύλης τῆς Χαλκῆς)[65]; or "the small gate of the Chytos of the Chalkê" (διὰ τῆς μικρᾶς πύλης τῆς Χαλκῆς τοῦ χυτοῦ)[66]; or "the Chytos of the Chalkê[67]."

4. "Outside the door of the Holy Well which leads out to the *embolos*[68]."

These indications are not as perplexing as they may appear on first sight. The domed hall of the Chalkê communicated with a narrow passage (*stenakion*) at the end of which was the iron gate. Outside this gate was some kind of a vault or porch. The word εἴλημα usually means an arch and sometimes a vault[68a].

[59] *Cer.*, 19_{13}; cf. 27_{8}, 39_{22}.
[60] *Cer.*, 27_{11}.
[61] *Cer.*, 19_{8}.
[62] *Cer.*, 27_{13}.
[63] *Cer.*, 39_{13}.
[64] *Cer.*, 127_{16}, 155_{14}, 183_{5}.
[65] *Cer.*, $159_{.}$.
[66] *Cer.*, 181_{21}.
[67] *Cer.*, 231_{2}, 240_{15}, 254_{8}, 260_{12}, 267—68, 547_{17}.
[68] *Cer.*, 135_{18}.
[68a] Reiske (*Cer.*, vol. II, 131) and Guilland in JÖBG, II (1952), 9 suggest that εἴλημα denotes here the *cochlias* or spiral staircase (presumably covered with an ascending barrel vault) which led from the Chytos to the raised passage extending to the gallery of St. Sophia.

Φορνικόν (Lat. *fornix*) and καμάρα are more or less equivalent terms for a vault, especially a barrel vault. Θόλος is a dome, but also a vault. It appears, therefore, that outside the iron gate was a vault supported by arches. The word Chytos is not listed in any lexicon and has remained unexplained[69]. Strictly speaking, it is not even certain that Chytos is the right form, since this word is found only in the genitive, accented either χυτοῦ or χύτου, so that the nominative could have been χυτός, χυτόν or even χύτης. According to Ebersolt[70], the Chytos was the same as the *stenakion*, and Vogt likewise renders it by "étroit couloir", but this may be questioned. In mediaeval Greek there occurs the word κατάχυτον meaning a pent roof[71]. A house with such a roof is still called χυτό by the natives of Icaria, while κατάχυτο, καταχύτη and κατάχυμα are used in different parts of Greece for the raftering of a roof[72]. It may therefore be suggested that the Chytos of the Chalkê was an annex or porch with a shed roof. From there an *embolos* or colonnade extended directly to the Holy Well.

9. The Raised Passage

A private passageway joining the king's residence to the palatine church is a feature shared by many mediaeval palaces. In some cases this passage was not on ground level but in the form of a bridge. The classical example is Charlemagne's palace at Aachen which had a very lengthy wooden *porticus* connecting the *regia* to the chapel (fig. 9)[73]. Another outstanding example is the palace of prince Andrej Bogoljubskij near Vladimir (1158—65) which had a monumental gallery raised on stone piers leading to the triforium level of the church (fig. 10)[74]. A wooden passage of the same kind probably connected the palace of prince Jurij Dolgorukij to the adjoining church of the Transfiguration at Perejaslavl'-Zalesskij (1152)[75]. A similar arrangement may have

[69] Cf. Reiske's commentary, *Cer.*, vol. II, 123.
[70] *Le grand palais*, 24 n. 5.
[71] Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi*, III, 20, 54.
[72] Koukoules, Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός, IV, Athens, 1951, 269—70.
[73] See Joseph Buchkremer, "Die Karolingische Porticus der Aachener Pfalz," *Bonner Jahrbücher*, CXLIX (1949), 212—38.
[74] N. Voronin in Akad. Nauk SSSR, *Kratkie soobščenija o dokladach i polevych issledovanijach Inst. Ist. materjal'noj kul'tury*, XI (1945), 78—86.
[75] Akad. Nauk SSSR, *Istorija russkogo iskusstva*, I, Moscow, 1953, 346.

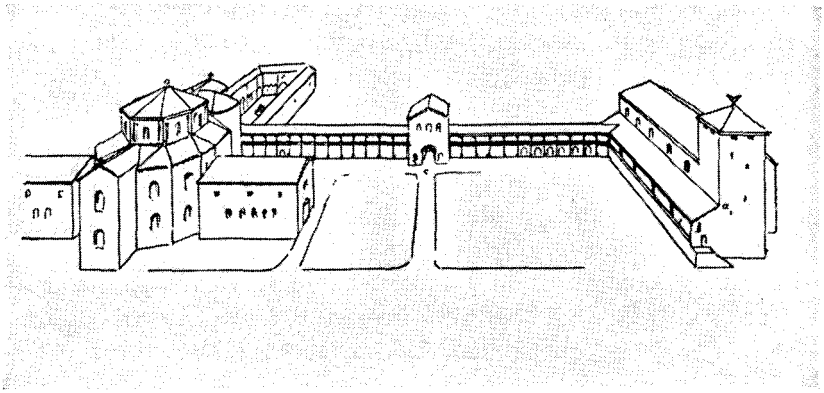

Fig. 9. Reconstruction of *porticus* at Aachen. *After Buchkremer.*

existed at Kiev, although no positive proof of this has been found. The presence of a raised passage may also be inferred between the palace of Alfonso III and the basilica of San Julián de los Prados near Oviedo (ninth century)[76], as well as at Palermo[77].

A similar raised passage connected the Chalkê to the south gallery of St. Sophia. At the coronation of Constantine VI in 776, the empress Irene, after crossing the Scholae, "ascended by means of the *anabasion* of the Chalkê to the gallery of the Church, without going out into the midst of the *embolos*" (ἀνῆλθε διὰ τοῦ ἀναβασίου τῆς Χαλκῆς εἰς τὰ κατηχούμενα τῆς ἐκκλησίας μὴ ἐξελθοῦσα εἰς τὴν μέσην τοῦ ἐμβόλου)[78]. There was, therefore, an elevated gallery which joined the Chalkê to the triforium of St. Sophia and which, incidentally, was still remembered in the sixteenth century[79]. This passage started at the Chalkê or, to be more explicit, at the Chytos[80], and terminated at the south-east corner of St. Sophia, i. e. close to the Holy Well. We may therefore conclude that this *cryptoporticus* formed the upper storey of the *embolos* of the Holy Well. Such an arrangement was indeed quite normal at Constantinople. The porticoes lining the main streets of the city had

[76] I owe this information to Dr Helmut Schlunk. The church has been described by him in *Ars Hispaniae*, II, Madrid, 1947, 337 sq.

[77] Cf. E. Kitzinger, "The Mosaics of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo," *The Art Bulletin*, XXXI (1949), 283—84.

[78] Theophanes, 450. Cf. Paulus Diaconus, *Hist. miscella*, PL, 95, 1111B: "ascendentibus per aeneae portae ascensum in catechumenia ecclesiae, non exiens in plateam emboli."

[79] Gyllius, *De topogr. CP*, lib. II, cap. 18, p. 112 (Lyon, 1562).

[80] On the first Sunday after Easter, διὰ τοῦ χυτοῦ ἀπέρχονται εἰς τὰ κατηχούμενα οἱ δεσπόται (*Cer.*, 98).

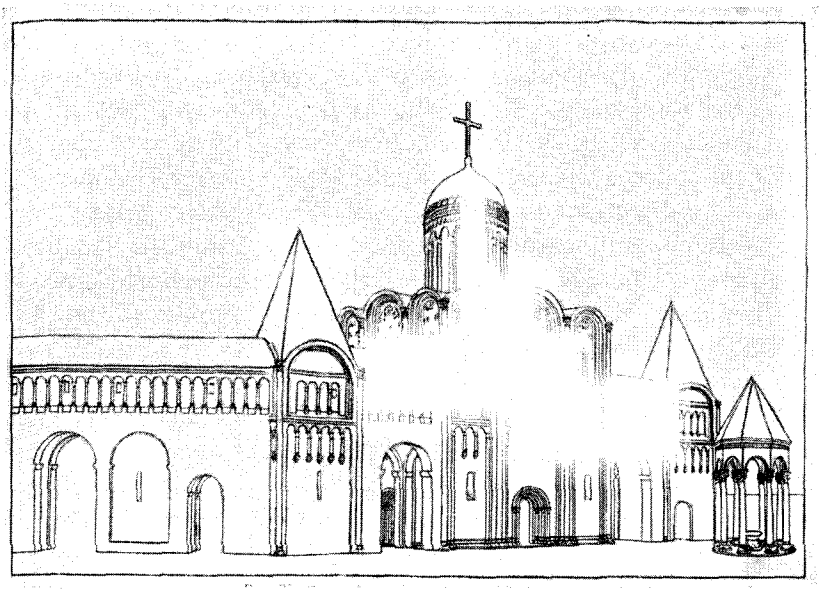

Fig. 10. Reconstruction of *porticus* at Vladimir. *After Voronin.*

staircases leading up to the roof which was decorated with statues and served as an open promenade[81]. The passage connecting the palace to St. Sophia was, however, a covered one, as at Aachen. Justinian, we are told by the *Diegesis,* took so much interest in the construction of St. Sophia that he "built at that time the [covered] *diabatika* from the palace to the Great Church with a view to coming over regularly every day without being seen by anybody to witness the construction of the church[82]."

[81] *Patria*, 148—49; Zosimus, 88_2. A law of the year 406 prescribes that the staircases leading up "ad superiores porticus" should be of stone in order to avoid fires (*Cod. Theod.*, XV, 1, 45).

[82] Preger's text (p. 82) is as follows: προέκτισεν εὐκτήριον . . . . ὅπερ ὠνόμασε τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Προδρόμου (ὅπερ ἐστὶ πλησίον τοῦ ὡρολογείου τὸ καλούμενον βαπτιστήριον), ἵνα ἐκεῖσε παραμένῃ μετὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτοῦ, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἐσθίῃ. Τότε γὰρ καὶ τὰ διαβατικὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ παλατίου μέχρι τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας ἔκτισεν, ἵνα διέρχεται καθ' ἑκάστην συνεχῶς καὶ μὴ ὁρᾶσθαι παρά τινος πρὸς τὸ παρίστασθαι ἐν τῇ οἰκοδομῇ τοῦ ναοῦ. After ὡρολογείου "Codinus" adds τὸν λεγόμενον βαπτιστῆρα καὶ τὰ πλησιάζοντα τοῦ Μητατωρίου. This addition, which Preger relegates to his apparatus, appears to be essential, since the emperor must have dined in the "dependencies of the Mêtatorion," rather than in the Baptistery. After διαβατικά Cod. Vind. 129 adds σκεπαστά. The text of the Bonn ed. (p. 135) is topographically more precise: ἔκτισε τὸν ἅγιον Ἰωάννην . . . καὶ τὰ πλησιάσαντα τοῦ Μετατωρίου . . . ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὰ διαβατικὰ σκεπαστὰ τοῦ παλατίου ἐποίησεν. The *diabatika* were, in fact, in the vicinity of the Mêtatorion.

The *Book of Ceremonies* mentions several times the upper *diabatika* of the Magnaura which communicated with the gallery of St. Sophia by means of a wooden staircase. On the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, the emperor "passes through the Magnaura and its upper *diabatika*, and having ascended the wooden staircase, enters the gallery of the Great Church[83]." The same directions are given for the feast of Orthodoxy[84] and for the consecration of the Patriarch Theophylact (A. D .933)[85]. It appears that the *zostê patrikia*, after her investiture, returned by this same passage from the gallery of St. Sophia to the Magnaura, but the text is unfortunately unclear[86]. It was also through the upper *diabatika* that on the troubled Sunday of August 9, 963 the *parakoimomenos* Joseph Bringas secretly brought the young sons of Romanus II to St. Sophia at lunch-time, when the church was deserted[87]. It is virtually certain that the *diabatika* of the Magnaura were connected to the *anabasion* of the Chalkê, possibly with a further extension leading to the Magnaura[88].

In the east bay of the south gallery of St. Sophia, next to the mosaic panel of Constantine IX Monomachus and Zoe, is a Byzantine door that now opens into void. Paspates was the first to suggest that this door led to the wooden staircase[89]. This view, shared by Antoniades[90], may be considered extremely likely. That this door led to an outside staircase is confirmed by an examination of the door-jambs which are covered with graffiti[91].

[83] *Cer.*, 125.

[84] *Cer.*, 157.

[85] *Cer.*, 635.

[86] *Cer.*, 260. The *zostê* leaves the palace through the Chytos and enters St. Sophia by the Holy Well. After the patriarch has blessed her tablets in front of the sanctuary door, she is escorted by the *cubicularii* and *silentiarii* to the *mêtatorion* of (or close to) the Thomaïtes at gallery level: καὶ ἀναφέρουσιν αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ μητατώριον ἐπὶ τὸν Θωμαΐτην, καὶ τὰ διαβατικὰ ἀναχωροῦντες ἔσωθεν ἱστᾶσι [so Bonn ed.: ἔσωθεν ἔσω cod.: ἔσω ⟨ἵστανται⟩ Vogt, II, 65]. Next we find her at the Magnaura. The text appears to be corrupt. Furthermore, it is not clear whether the *zostê* went to the imperial *mêtatorion* in the south gallery, which could be described as ἐπὶ τὸν Θωμαΐτην, i. e. close to the Thomaïtes, or to a patriarchal *mêtatorion* in the Thomaïtes.

[87] *Cer.*, 436: διὰ τῶν ἄνω διαβατικῶν κατῆλθεν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὥρᾳ ἀρίστου.

[88] According to Guilland (ΕΕΒΣ, 1957, 72—73) the upper passage of the Chalkê joined the portico that extended westward from the façade of the Magnaura.

[89] Βυζαντινὰ ἀνάκτορα, 86—87.

[90] Ἔκφρασις, II, 242, 328.

[91] Among them one in Russian, referring to Cyprian, metropolitan of Kiev and of all Russia (late 14th century), which I have published in *Slavic Word*, X 4 (1954), 436—38.

By leaning out of the door, it is possible to see that the graffiti continue on the outside. Among them is the name APCENI[OC] written in red paint in a tiny but careful script. If it were possible to examine the outer surface of the wall, some traces left by the staircase could probably be found.

The wooden staircase should not be confused with the *cochlias* of the Holy Well, i. e. the big ramp a few metres further south, which likewise led up to gallery level. This *cochlias* (cf. above, pp. 65, 72), probably similar to the ramp at the north-east corner of the church, has been converted by the Turks into a buttress, and its entrance from the gallery has been walled up. On Monday of the first week of Lent, the emperors, after taking leave of the patriarch near the porphyry columns of the south-east exedra, "enter the *mêtatorion*, and after the absolution of the *tritoektê*, they go up privately (μυστικῶς) to the *catêchoumena* through the ramp of the *mêtatorion* which is there (διὰ τοῦ ἐκεῖσε τοῦ μητατωρικίου κοχλιοῦ), and, accompanied by the *manglabitai* and the *hetairia*[92], they go privately through the *diabatika* to the palace guarded by God[93]." This passage shows that the *diabatika* were not accessible from ground level, but communicated only with the gallery of St. Sophia, so that in order to reach the *diabatika* from the south aisle one was obliged to go up the south-east ramp to the gallery.

A glance at the previous reconstructions of the Great Palace will show the difficulties which scholars have encountered in connection with the *stenakion*, the Chytos and the *embolos* of the Holy Well. On Ebersolt's and Vogt's plans (figs. 4, 5) there is no *stenakion* to speak of, while the *embolos* is made to be the portico surrounding the Augustaion. Such an arrangement is contradicted by our textual evidence, and becomes patently absurd if one places the upper *diabatika* over the *embolos*, since the two-storey portico, some 300 m. long, is made to turn two or even three corners and somehow clear the façade of the Senate House. Antoniades' plan (fig. 3) is more rational in this respect, but by keeping the traditional location of the Chalkê facing the Horologion of St. Sophia, he is obliged to give the *stenakion* an utterly inordinate length, nearly 100 m.

[92] Two contingents of the emperor's guard. See Vogt's *Commentaire* I, 32—34.
[93] *Cer.*, 548.

We have seen that when the emperor went from the Chalkê to the Holy Well, he had to cross the Mesê, but never the Augustaion. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the *embolos* of the Holy Well was the portico along that branch of the Mesê which turned in a north-easterly direction at the Chalkê, skirted the east wall of the Augustaion and extended behind the apse of St. Sophia. This may have been the colonnade described by Buondelmonti (1420) in the following terms: "De pallatio isto iam dirruto erat via columpnarum binarum usque ad sanctam Sophiam: per quam imperatores suo cursu dirrigebant usque sanctam sanctorum[94]."

10. The Chalkê in Relation to the Augustaion

We have repeatedly stressed the fact, established not long ago by R. Guilland, that the Chalkê did not give access to the Augustaion. There can be no doubt that the Augustaion, separated from the palace by the Mesê, was enclosed by a wall and had gates that could be closed in an emergency. During the fighting between the partisans of the empress Mary of Antioch and the imperial troops in 1182, the latter, as we shall see in a moment, forced their way into the Augustaion after having hewn down its gates. In addition to the gate Meletê, which we have already discussed, the Augustaion also had western gates. In the reign of Alexius III Angelus, the armed supporters of John Comnenus, surnamed the Fat, burst in through the west gates of the Augustaion (ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Αὐγουστεῶνος θυρῶν δυτικῶν εἰσπηδήσαντες ἐκ συνθήματος), while the usurper himself seized St. Sophia from the rear[95]. It appears that the Augustaion was not normally open to horses and chariots.

The accounts of several popular riots and attacks on the palace indicate that the Chalkê was accessible without obstacle both in

[94] This is the text of Cod. Marc. X, 125 (*St. biz.*, III, 272). In Du Cange's ed. (after Paris. lat. 4825), reprinted in the Bonn Corpus along with Nicephorus Bryennius (p. 180), we read: "etiam de immenso palatio usque ad Sanctam Sophiam erat per milliare via columnarum binarum, per quam dominus accedebat." The Greek version follows a similar tradition: ἀπὸ γοῦν τούτου τοῦ μεγίστου παλατίου μέχρι τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας ἑνὸς μιλίου ὁδὸς ἦν, διπλοὺς κίονας ἔχουσα, δι' ἧς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπορεύετο (E. Legrand, *Description des îles de l'Archipel par Christophe Buondelmonti*, Paris, 1897, 86).

[95] Nikolaos Mesarites, *Palastrevolution*, 21.

the day and in the night. Professor Guilland discusses these accounts[96] to show that insurgents and usurpers could reach the Chalkê without being stopped by the closed courtyard of the Augustaion. Thus, in 911 Constantine Ducas, after being repulsed at night from the Hippodrome, succeeded in forcing his way through the iron gate of the Chalkê and advanced as far as the Excubita, where his horse slipped on the smooth stone steps, and he was killed by one of the palace guards[97]. In 1042 the city populace rose against Michael V Calaphates, and invested the palace from the side of the Hippodrome, the Excubita and the Tzycanisterion[98]. The Excubita lay beyond the Chalkê and probably denotes in this context the front of the palace in general, but our source does not mention the Augustaion in its description of the palace siege. In 1057, after the assassination of Michael VI, the *proedrus* Theodosius, who was a cousin of Constantine IX, made a futile attempt to seize power by proceeding one evening to the Praetorium and liberating the prisoners who were held there. Then he did the same at the Chalkê without hindrance[99]. This could not have happened, says Guilland, if the Chalkê lay behind the locked gates of the Augustaion. The same conclusion is drawn from the investiture of the prefect Andrew in the reign of Justinian I. As the newly-appointed prefect mounted his chariot at the Chalkê, the populace assailed him with stones[100]. But the Augustaion, according to Guilland's argument, was not open to vehicles, since Justinian himself, when he came to consecrate St. Sophia, stepped down from his chariot at the gates of the Augustaion[101].

The above arguments are not perhaps sufficiently convincing in themselves, and merely add a certain measure of corroborative evidence to a conclusion that is amply demonstrated by the *Book*

[96] ΕΕΒΣ, XVIII (1948), 169—71.

[97] *Vita Euthymii*, ed. De Boor, 70: ἔνδοθεν τῆς Χαλκῆς πύλης, τοῦ ἵππου ἐν ταῖς ἐκεῖσε ἀναβάθραις ὀλισθήσαντος. Theoph. Cont., 383; Pseudo-Symeon, 719; Georg. Monachus (Bonn), 875; Cedrenus, II, 280; Zonaras, III, 459; Leo Gramm., 289—90; Sathas, *Bibl. gr. med. aevi*, VII, 148. The account in the *Vita S. Basilii iunioris* is inaccurate (ASS Martii, vol. III, *22D; cf. Tougard, *De l'histoire profane dans les actes grecs des Bollandistes*, Paris, 1874, 46—48).

[98] Cedrenus, II, 538.

[99] Cedrenus, II, 613; Zonaras, III, 655—56. A similar incident took place in the reign of Alexius III Angelus (Nicetas Choniates, 696).

[100] Theophanes, 239.

[101] Glycas, 498; *Diegesis*, 104 (note, however, the variant of cod. Z = Vind. hist. gr. 88). This story of Justinian's triumphal entry may well be legendary.

of Ceremonies. There is, however, one more historical text that sheds much light on the relation of the palace to the Augustaion and is of capital importance for the topography of the whole area. It is the account by Nicetas Choniates of the battle of May 2nd 1182, and deserves to be reproduced in full, although several discussions of it are already available[102]:

"A considerable force, therefore, having been gathered both from the eastern and the western contingents, and all of them having assembled in the Great Palace as in one camp, search was made for a suitable place of attack against those in the church. But already the Caesarissa, too, was preparing to resist, wishing to solve her fortunes by war. As many houses, therefore, as adjoined the Great Church on the side of the Augustaion were barricaded off by her men, who also climbed up on the enormous arch that stands at the Milion in order to grapple with the imperial army. Her soldiers also entered the church of Alexius, as it is called, which is joined to the court (αὐλαία) of the Augustaion, and they guarded it. The emperor's men, on the other hand, issuing from the palace early in the morning, on Saturday the 2nd of May of the 15th Indiction, first entered the church of St. John the Evangelist called the Diippion, under the command of a certain Armenian Sabbatius. Then, having climbed on the roof of that church, they let forth confused cries. But as the moment of fighting had come, about the third hour of the day, at full-market time[103], they molested in no small way the Caesarissa's soldiers, who were battling from the arch of the Milion and the church of Alexius, by fighting them from an advantageous position and discharging their darts like thunderbolts from a height downward. But as other well-armed cohorts came out of the palace, filling the streets and occupying the narrow passages which lead up to the Great Church, the populace stopped helping the Caesarissa, because every approach was shut off by arms, whereas those who kept coming out of the church and going beyond the court of the Augustaion to engage the imperial army in the streets, few against many, were clearly exhausted by this

[102] Laskin in *Viz. Vrem.*, VI (1897), 138; Mordtmann, *Esquisse topographique*, § 7; Mamboury in *Arch. Anz.*, 1934, 56—59; Guilland in ΕΕΒΣ, XVIII, 166; Mango in REB, VIII (1951), 156—57.

[103] I. e. before noon. Cf. Xenophon, *Memor.*, I. 1. 10; *Anab.*, I. 8. 1; II. 1. 7, etc.

time and gradually losing their ardour. So the conflict was at its height and a vigorous battle was being waged, both with the shooting of arrows and hand to hand, at close quarters, and the screams of the wounded and the exhortations of the slayers were heard on both sides. Until high noon the battle was undecided and victory doubtful, evenly balancing her scales in favour of both armies, now inclining to one side, now raising again the advantage of the moment. But towards evening an outstanding victory was won by the imperial army. For, having thrust back those from the church and repulsed them from the streets, they shut them up in the Augustaion. So when these were gathered inside, those who stood on the arches of the Milion as well as those who fought from the church of Alexius turned to flight. And as the emperor's army occupied those places, they set up on top of the arches the standards with the emperor's portraits, while the gates of the Augustaion were hewn down with axe and hammer. The Caesarissa's force, no longer able to strike back, as they were being hit from above by the men who were climbing on the arches, and being also worsted in hand to hand fighting with the soldiers who had poured into the court (αὔλειον), gradually stole away, though a brief respite was afforded to them thanks to the discharge of stones and arrows by the Romans who were defending them from above, from the hall (ἀνδρῶνος) called Makrôn, which juts into the Augustaion[104], and the adjoining Thomaites building. Finally, pressed and hit from all sides, the men from the church abandoned the court of the Augustaion and entered the *pronaos*, at the place where the first and greatest of the archangels who stand by God, Michael, is represented with drawn sword by the application of fine mosaic cubes, and appointed guardian of the church. From this spot neither could the emperor's men advance any further, being wary of the narrow spaces of the church, nor did the Caesarissa's defenders come out from there to fight[105]."

[104] Note the important variant of cod. A (Monac. 93, saec. XVI): κατὰ τὸν ἐν τοῖς κατηχουμένοις ἀνδρῶνα τὸν λεγόμενον μάκρωνα ἐς τὸν αὐγουστεῶνα προσνεύοντα. This is further proof of the direct connection between the Patriarchate and the south gallery of St. Sophia.

[105] Nicetas Choniates, 306—09. German translation by Franz Grabler, *Abenteurer auf dem Kaiserthron* (*Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber*, VIII), Graz, 1958, 24—26.

To understand the movements of the two armies it must be borne in mind that a frontal attack on the Augustaion was purposely avoided. The empress' troops held St. Sophia, the Patriarchate, the Augustaion and, as advanced outposts, the Milion and the church of Alexius. The latter, probably a Comnenian building, is not mentioned elsewhere. As the empress was supported by the populace, it was intended to isolate her by an encircling movement. This is why Sabbatius stole out of the palace early in the morning and occupied the church of St. John of the Diippion which was near the *carceres* of the Hippodrome and on slightly higher ground than the Milion, yet within bowshot[106]. His men climbed to the roof of the church and bombarded the Milion and the church of Alexius with missiles. At this point more troops came out of the palace and engaged the Caesarissa's soldiers who sallied out of the Augustaion. After prolonged fighting, the latter were repulsed and forced to retire into the Augustaion, shutting its gates behind them, so that the Milion and the church of Alexius had to be abandoned.

The next step was to take the Augustaion. The emperor's soldiers climbed on the roof of the Milion from where they could dominate the Augustaion and shoot arrows into it. At this juncture it is highly significant that the Chalkê is not mentioned, for if it had led into the Augustaion, it would have been only too easy to throw open the big bronze doors and charge through them. Instead, the imperial army continued to push forward from the direction of the Milion. The gates of the Augustaion (i. e. the west and possibly the south gates) were broken down and the battle continued inside the court. The Caesarissa's side gained a brief breathing-spell because her men still held the Patriarchate (the Makrôn and the Thomaites) which overlooked the Augustaion, but was soon pushed back into the vestibule of St. Sophia where the fighting stopped.

[106] On the church of St. John (alias St. Phocas) of the Diippion, see my article in REB, VIII (1951), 152—61. In it I have tried to prove that the church of St. John was not, as generally held, near the Basilica, but on the opposite side of the Mesê, near the gates of the Hippodrome. In my demonstration I have overlooked a variant reading of the *Patria* (168_{18}, appar.) which settles the question beyond any doubt: τὸν ναὸν τοῦ ἁγίου Φωκᾶ τὸν ἐν τῷ διϊππίῳ τὸν ἄνωθεν τῶν καγκέλλων τοῦ ἱπποδρομίου (ἄνωθεν could be rendered either as "above" or "beyond"). I am happy to see that Prof. Guilland has independently reached the same conclusion about the Diippion (ΕΕΒΣ, XX, 1950, 34—39).

11. Situation and Orientation of the Chalkê

It has been generally assumed that the Chalkê was situated in the centre of the south side of the Augustaion facing St. Sophia. In my opinion, this view ought to be abandoned and the Chalkê moved further east for the following reasons:

1. The direct connection between the Chalkê and the Holy Well by means of the *embolos* and the upper *diabatika* suggests that the Chalkê was more or less opposite the south-east corner of St. Sophia.

2. The situation of the chapel of Christ that was attached to the Chalkê can be determined fairly accurately through independent evidence (see below, pp. 163 sq.) and also proves to have been in line with the south-east corner of St. Sophia.

By shifting the position of the Chalkê nearly 100 m., we naturally upset the intricate jig-saw puzzle of palatine topography and create difficulties that cannot be solved here. This should not, however, constitute an argument against following what seems to be clear evidence.

Regarding the orientation of the Chalkê there is unfortunately no decisive text. It may be assumed that the rectangular building described by Procopius was the one that Basil I restored and that Constantine Porphyrogenitus calls the *tholos* of the Chalkê. We are not told, however, whether it was the short northern side of the rectangle, as has usually been assumed, or the long western side that formed the main façade. In the interests of monumentality, I should like to suggest that the dominant axis was the one of the Mesê, and that the façade of the Chalkê looked west. In this way, the short stretch of the Mesê, decorated with colonnades and statues, would have provided, as at Antioch, a fitting approach to the imperial residence. In favour of this arrangement we may also quote the account of the reception organized for the Saracen ambassadors from Tarsus. On that occasion the prefect of the City suspended silk hangings between the bronze door and the railing, and he hung, probably over the door, a big silver candelabrum on a chain[107]. "Outside the railing of the Chalkê was stationed a πάχωμα, one part of them towards the side of the Numera, the other towards the vault of

[107] *Cer.*, 573.

the Milion, i. e. the rest of the sailors and the remaining Tulmatzi[108] and the baptized Russians with their standards, holding shields and wearing their swords[109]." The meaning of the word πάχωμα is unknown. Reiske translates it "turba miscella"[110] which conveys the general sense, since it was a body composed of sailors, Tulmatzi and Russians. These men were split up into two groups, one of them in the direction of the Numera (i. e. the Baths of Zeuxippus), the other in the direction of the Milion. Now, it seems reasonable to assume that this guard of honour stood on either side of the Chalkê gate. If, however, the traditional orientation of the Chalkê is maintained, both the Numera and the Milion would have been on the same side of the gate, namely left as one went out of the Chalkê, which makes the division pointless. By changing the orientation of the Chalkê, the text becomes more intelligible, since the group on the right-hand side would thus have been in the direction of the Milion, while the group on the left would have been on the side of the Numera.

12. Exterior Decoration and Appearance of the Chalkê

The façade of the Chalkê and the approach to it were decorated with numerous statues. The following list of them is preserved in the *Parastaseis* and supplemented to some extent by the *Patria*:

1. Above the image of Christ over the big bronze door (ἄνωθεν τῆς θεανδρικῆς εἰκόνος) were the statues of the emperor Maurice, his wife and his children[111]. The inferior text of Codinus says that these statues had their arms outstretched, but this indication refers to the following item[112].

2. Two statues of philosophers with their arms stretched out towards each other. They had been brought from Athens[113].

[108] A contingent of the guard of Turkish origin. Cf. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, Budapest, 1943, s. v.

[109] *Cer.*, 579. The Greek text requires a comma instead of a full stop after τοῦ μιλίου, since οἱ λοιποὶ πλόϊμοι, etc. is epexegetic of οἱ μέν . . . οἱ δέ.

[110] Cf. his commentary, *Cer.*, vol. II, 682.

[111] *Parastaseis*, 22; *Patria*, 166, 196—97.

[112] Bonn ed., 60. Grabar (*L'empereur dans l'art byzantin*, 100) has been misled by this text when he says that Maurice and his family were represented in an attitude of prayer.

[113] *Parastaseis*, 22 = *Patria*, 197.

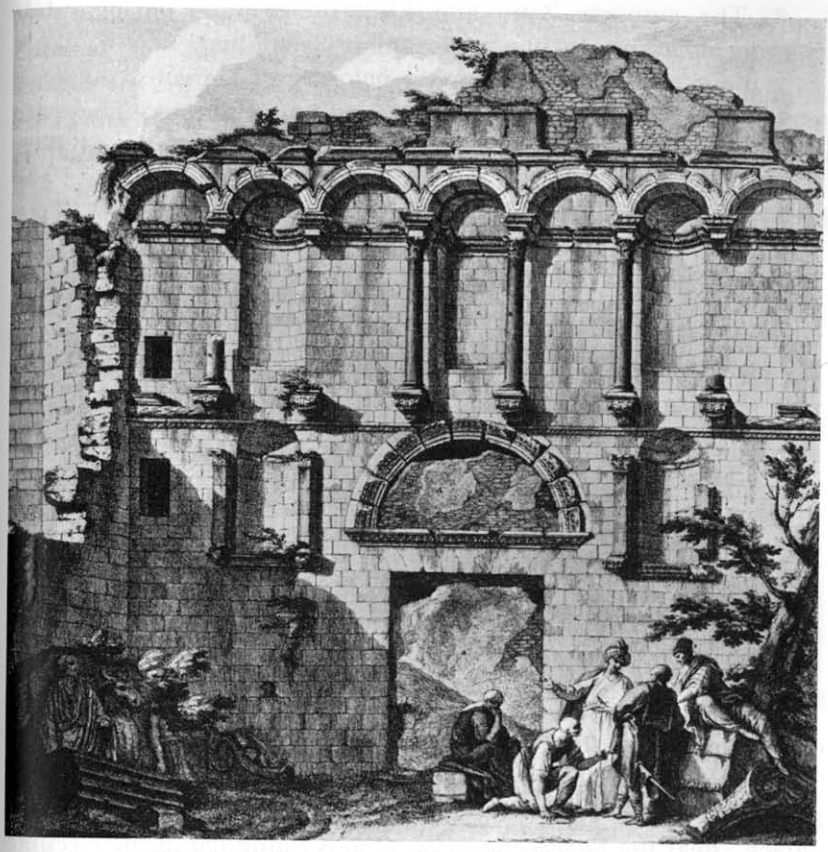

Fig. 11. Porta aurea, Spalato. *After Robert Adam.*

3. A statue of Maximian (either Galerius or Maximian, the father of Maxentius), described as "very heavy"[114].

4. Statues of "all the relatives" (τὸ γένος ἅπαν) of Theodosius I[115].

5. A statue of the empress Pulcheria which stood at the περίπατος in front of the palace, i. e. possibly on the Mesê[116].

[114] *Parastaseis*, 70 = *Patria*, 166. All the mss of the latter read Μαξιμίνου.
[115] *Ibid.*
[116] *Parastaseis*, 38 (ὡς ἐν τῷ περιπάτῳ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ἐμπρὸς ὑπάρχοντι); Anon. Treu, 13 (ὡς πρὸς τὸν περίπατον τὸν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ); *Patria*, 164—65 (ὡς πρὸς τὸν περίπατον τοῦ παλατίου); Suidas, s. v. Πουλχερία (πλησίον τοῦ παλατίου ὡς πρὸς τὸν περίπατον).

6. The emperor Zeno and his wife Ariadne on pedestals carrying epigrams by the philosopher Secundus[117].

7. Four gilded masks (κεφαλαὶ ἡμίσειαι) of Gorgons, out of a set of eight from the temple of Artemis at Ephesus. They are described as having stood in the vestibule (σηκός) of the Chalkê,

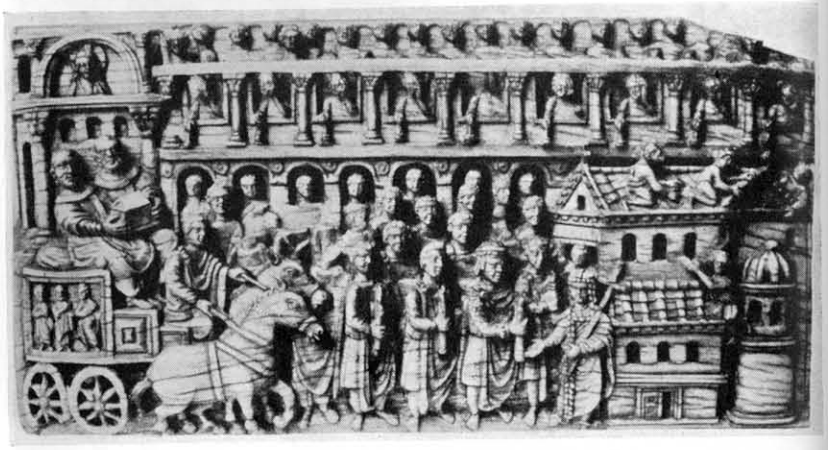

Fig. 12. The Trier ivory. *After Delbrück.*

on the left-hand side as one walked towards the palace, or as "opposite the Chalkê, on an arch." Above the masks Justinian placed a cross. The remaining four masks were at the "old palace" near the Forum Tauri[118]. One is reminded of the circular marble medallion with the head of Medusa, now in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul, said to have been found either in the neighbourhood of St. Sophia or at Constantine's Forum[119].

8. Two horses, also from the temple of Artemis at Ephesus. Justinian placed them "above the Gorgons, on the arch," so probably at the same place as the cross. These statues were endowed with the magical power of preventing horses from quarrelling with one another (ἀντιζηλοῦν ἀλλήλοις)[120], which calls

[117] *Parastaseis*, 70; *Patria*, 165 adds καὶ ἕτεραι δύο. A philosopher Secundus is the author of caustic pronouncements on women contained in Cod. Vind. phil. gr. 162. Cf. Krumbacher, *Byz. Litt.*², 557.

[118] *Parastaseis*, 51—52, 70; *Patria*, 165—66.

[119] Mendel, *Catal. des sculptures*, I, Constantinople, 1912, 361—62, no. 145; S. Reinach in AJA, II (1886), 314 sq. and pl. IX.

[120] *Patria*, 165.

to mind the story of al-Harawy (twelfth century): "Near the door of the imperial palace was a talisman — three bronze images in the form of horses. They were made by Apollonius of Tyana to keep horses from being noisy and neighing at the emperor's door[121]."

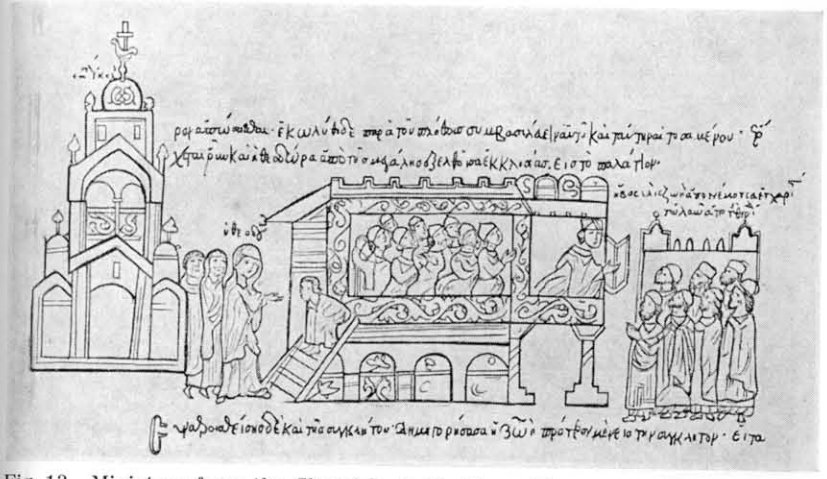

Fig. 13. Miniature from the Chronicle of Skylitzes. The empress Theodora going from St. Sophia to the palace. *After Beylié.*

9. A gilded statue of a man with a crown of rays (ἡλιοκέφαλος). It was said to be Belisarius, which is highly unlikely[122].

10. A statue of Tiberius II with a hunched back (κυρτοειδής)[123].

11. Justin I, slender of appearance (λεπτοειδής), and seven statues of his relatives, some of marble and some of bronze[124].

This summary enumeration of statues raises certain problems. Chronologically, the series of emperors extends down to Maurice (582—602). The sixth-century emperors in particular were well represented at the entrance of the palace. We have just mentioned Justin I, Tiberius II and Maurice. Justinian had the famous

[121] Quoted by Vasiliev, "Quelques remarques sur les voyageurs du moyen âge à Constantinople," *Mélanges Ch. Diehl*, I, 296.

[122] *Parastaseis*, 52 = *Patria*, 165. The *corona radiata* suggests the effigy of a Hellenistic king or a Roman emperor not later than Constantine. On this attribute cf. L. Cesano in *Rassegna numismatica*, 1911, 36—43.

[123] *Parastaseis* and *Patria*, *loc. cit.*

[124] Concerning Justin the text adds ἐπίφορος (?) κατ' ἰδέαν πάνυ. Preger suggests ἐπίφοβος (terrible or timid?). On Justin's appearance see Vasiliev, *Justin the First*, Cambridge, Mass., 1950, 85—86.

equestrian statue in the Augustaion, while Justin II, as we have seen (*supra*, p. 40), intended to set up his own statue near the baths of Zeuxippus, and was only prevented by his death from doing so. The *Parastaseis*, in a very muddled passage, also mentions a statue of Justinian and Theodora in front of the

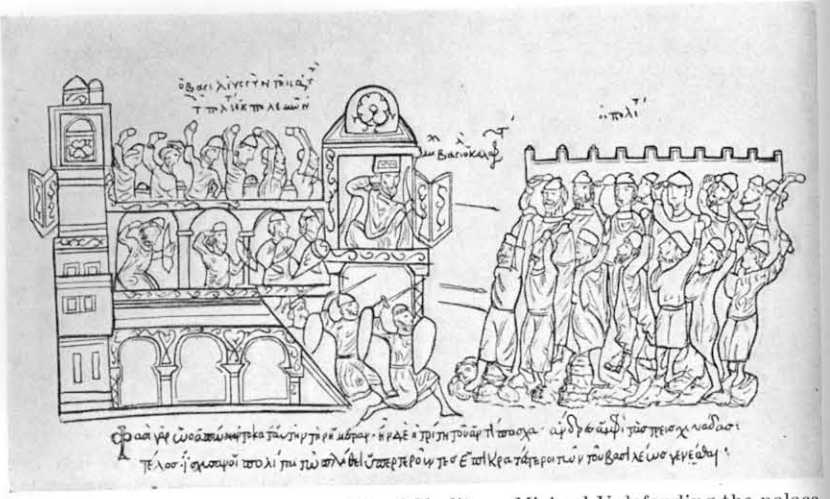

Fig. 14. Miniature from the Chronicle of Skylitzes. Michael V defending the palace. *After Beylié.*

Zeuxippus[125]. The absence of emperors after Maurice may be due to the decline of statuary in the seventh century, although imperial statues continued to be made as late as the reign of Irene and Constantine VI (780—797)[126]. On the other hand, it is possible that the *patriographi* were content to reproduce a text of *ca.* 600 without bringing it up to date. In the *Parastaseis* the information relating to the statues of the Chalkê is found in four passages (pp. 22, 38, 51—52, 70)[127], of which the most important (pp. 51—52) is stated to have been drawn from the works of a certain Papias. It does not appear to be known who this Papias

[125] 70. One may suspect that this was actually a statue of Justin II and Sophia, perhaps the one mentioned by John of Ephesus.

[126] Cf. L. Bréhier, *La sculpture et les arts mineurs byzantins*, Paris, 1936, 8.

[127] Note that the passage pertaining to the statues of Maurice and his family and those of the two philosophers (p. 22) was supplied by Preger from *Patria*, 196—97 to fill the loss of one folio in the ms of the *Parastaseis*. It is highly doubtful, however, that this passage in its present form could have stood in the *Parastaseis*. Cf. below, p. 111 n. 12.

was, if indeed such a writer ever existed, since the compiler of the *Parastaseis* had the unpleasant habit of quoting fictitious authorities. From the *Parastaseis* this information was carelessly excerpted by Treu's *anonymus* (pp. 15—16, 20), and finally reached the *Patria*, where it is combined under one heading

Fig. 15. Miniature from the Chronicle of Skylitzes. The Holy Mandylion received at Constantinople. *Madrid, Bibl. Nacional.*

(pp. 164—66). The author of the *Patria* has, however, added two new items to his list of statues: the horses (our no. 8) and Maurice with his family (no. 1). In view of the carelessness of the *patriographi*, who often did not bother to eliminate descriptions of monuments that had ceased to exist[128], it is impossible to tell to what period the above list of statues pertains. One may wonder, for example, whether the statues of Maurice and his family, placed in such a prominent position, would have been allowed to remain there by the Emperor Phocas.

There is no specific information in the literary sources regarding the exterior appearance of the Chalkê. Probably, however, we would not be far wrong if we imagined a slightly elongated façade with a big door in the middle surmounted by a lunette (in which was the mosaic image of Christ), and a series of arcaded niches above. The presence of these niches is suggested

[128] Cf. "Solomon's" statue at the Basilica, *supra*, p. 50.

by the statues of Maurice and his family which, as we have seen, stood above the icon of Christ, and is confirmed by the analogy of the *Porta aurea* of Diocletian's palace at Spalato (fig. 11), which may have had statues in the lateral niches, and the Palace of the Exarchate at Ravenna. We may also quote the Ummayad palace of Qasr el-Heir el-Gharbi (early eighth century) which had, above the lunette of the front door, a series of niches and bas-reliefs, including the effigy of a king[129].

I am unable to accept the view, shared by several eminent scholars, that the façade of the Chalkê is represented in the famous Trier ivory and in certain miniatures of the Skylitzes manuscript (Madrid, Bibl. Nacional, 5. 3N. 2). If the building shown in the background of the Trier ivory (fig. 12) was in fact the façade of the Imperial Palace, this would constitute an important document for the reconstruction of the Chalkê as well as for the iconography of Christ's image over the bronze gate. Opinion, however, has been so divided concerning the place of origin, date and subject-matter of the ivory, and the arguments in support of each theory have been so hypothetical, that it seems wiser to refrain from further conjecture. The suggestion that the colonnaded building behind the procession represents the palace of Constantinople was first put forward by Strzygowski who, while attributing the ivory to the Alexandrian school of the sixth or seventh century, interpreted the scene as the translation of the relics of the Forty Martyrs in 552 from St. Sophia to the church of St. Irene at Sycae (Galata)[130]. Strzygowski's explanation has been accepted, sometimes with slight modifications, by several scholars. Thus, E. Dyggve, in an interesting discussion of the ivory, regards the architectural setting as marking three successive stages in the procession: the starting point at the Chalkê gate, a midway point in an open colonnaded court inside the palace, and a terminal point at a newly-constructed church[131]. Many other interpretations have, however, been proposed. Wulff thought that the ivory represented an episode in the legend of the Holy Cross with Constantine and Helena in the foreground[132]. Delbrück,

[129] See D. Schlumberger, "Les fouilles de Qasr el-Heir el-Gharbi," *Syria*, XX (1939), 324 sq. and fig. 13.

[130] *Orient oder Rom*? Leipzig, 1901, 85—89; *Hellenistische und koptische Kunst in Alexandria*, Vienna, 1902, 77—79.

[131] *Ravennatum palatium sacrum*, Copenhagen, 1941, 12—14.

[132] *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXXV (1912), 235; *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst*, I, Berlin, 1913, 194—95.

starting from a detailed discussion of the costumes, hair-styles and ornament, concluded that the ivory was of the seventh century and showed the consecration of the church of the Holy Virgin at the Petrion by Justinian II[133]. Lately, S. Pelekanides dated the ivory in the fifth century and connected it with the

Fig. 16. Miniature from the Chronicle of Skylitzes. Death of Romanus I. *Madrid, Bibl. Nacional.*

re-consecration of St. Sophia in 415[134]; but he has been criticized by Grumel who suggests instead the inauguration of St. Mary Chalkoprateia by the empress Verina[135]. Leaving aside the historical identification of the scene, I would be inclined to think that the building in the background is not the façade of the palace, but a basilical church shown in flattened-out perspective, as suggested by Grabar[136].

It seems even more fruitless to seek a picture of the Chalkê in the miniatures of the Skylitzes manuscript (fourteenth century). Beylié has drawn attention to three of these miniatures which, he thinks, represent the Augustaion and the Chalkê:

1. The empress Theodora going from St. Sophia to the palace, while Zoe addresses the populace from a window (fig. 13)[137];

[133] *Die Consulardiptychen*, Berlin, 1929, 261—70.

[134] "Date et interprétation de la plaque en ivoire de Trèves," *Ann. de l'Inst. de phil. et d'hist. orient. et slaves*, XII (1952) = *Mélanges H. Grégoire*, IV, 361—71.

[135] REB, XII (1954), 187—90.

[136] *Martyrium*, II, Paris, 1946, 352 n. 4.

[137] *L'habitation byzantine*, Grenoble-Paris, 1902, 114. Text in Cedrenus, II, 539.

2. The emperor Michael V defending the palace against the citizens of Constantinople (fig. 14)[138]; 3. Constantine IX attacked by the populace as he is going out of the palace (fig. 25). The last of these miniatures is the only one that refers specifically to the Chalkê, and it will be discussed below (p. 153). In the other two I can see no intention of delineating any specific building. The same type of structure supported on arches, with a staircase leading up to the second storey and a balcony with a shuttered window, occurs in several different contexts in the Skylitzes manuscript. In one case, for example, it represents the Cathisma of the Hippodrome[139]. In fact, this is no more than a conventional "prop" used indiscriminately for any palace building. It is enough to examine the delineation of St. Sophia on fig. 13[140] to realize how arbitrary such architectural motifs are.

The same judgment may be passed on two further miniatures considered to represent the Chalkê by the late Professor E. Baldwin Smith[141]. The first of these (fig. 15)[142] shows the reception in Constantinople of the Holy Mandylion, the second (fig. 16)[143] the death of Romanus Lecapenus. In both cases we see a domed building having on either side two little cupolas or pinnacles and a tall doorway. On the basis of these pictures, as well as from general premisses regarding the character of "imperial" architecture, Smith argues that the Chalkê had five domes which, however, cannot be substantiated by any evidence known to me. The Mandylion of Edessa was deposited in the church of the Pharos[144], and not in the chapel of the Chalkê, as Smith thinks, and the text accompanying the miniature[145] makes no mention of the Chalkê. As for Romanus I, he died in exile on the island of Protê, and was buried in the monastery of the Myrelaion[146]. The miniature of his death clearly shows the monks of Protê

[138] Beylié, *loc. cit.* Text in Cedrenus, II, 538—39.

[139] Miniature reproduced by Beylié, *op. cit.*, 115; accompanying text in Cedrenus, II, 538. Other examples of a similar structure on fols. 103^{v}, 133^{r} of the Madrid ms.

[140] A similar picture of St. Sophia occurs on fol. 158^{v}.

[141] *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages*, Princeton, 1956, 138.

[142] Fol. 131^{r}.

[143] Fol. 133^{v}.

[144] Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 81**, 85**; Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance*, 23.

[145] Cedrenus, II, 319.

[146] *Ibid.*, 325.

surrounding the body. Surely it is far-fetched to argue that "the custom of holding the farewell ceremonies for a dead emperor in the vestibule of the palace was the kind of a convention which would have conceptually and artistically persisted, regardless of fact." Besides, a similar type of structure occurs in several miniatures which have no possible connection with the Chalkê[147], and must be regarded as a purely conventional framework.

[147] Fol. 127^{v} (consecration of Patriarch Tryphon); 129^{r} (consecration of Patriarch Theophylact and wedding of Stephen, son of Romanus I); 131^{v} (Romanus I tonsured); 137^{v} (consecration of Patriarch Polyeuctes).

CHAPTER IV

The Image of Our Lord

In the sixth century the pictorial decoration of the Chalkê represented, as we have seen, the theme of imperial victory. The emperor's triumph and the triumph of the Christian creed were to the Byzantine mind closely connected notions. Already Constantine's encaustic painting over the entrance to his palace conveyed this message. Whether Justinian's mosaics contained any similar symbolism it is impossible to tell, since Procopius does not attribute to them any Christian connotation. Not long afterwards, however, there appears above the great bronze portals, in front of the porphyry *omphalos*, an image of Christ. Our Lord of the Chalkê, popularly known as Christos Chalkitês, eventually became one of the most important and famous icons of Byzantium, almost on a par with the Theotocos Hodêgêtria or the Blachernitissa. Many legends were woven around it, with the result that its true history has been obscured by the uncertainties and confusions that are usually attached to miraculous images; worse still, many of these confusions have been perpetuated by modern scholars.

The image of Christ of the Chalkê makes its authentic entrée into history at the outbreak of Iconoclasm. At that time it was already surrounded by popular veneration, which suggests that it must have been fairly old[1], though it is impossible to determine exactly when and by whom it had been first set up. There is a tradition, reported only by the *Patria* (*ca.* 995), that a bronze statue of Our Lord was erected at the Chalkê by Constantine the Great, that it healed a woman with an issue of blood and operated

[1] The *Scriptor incertus de Leone Bardae f.* (along with Leo Grammaticus, 355) alleges with reference to the removal of the image in 814 that it had existed since the foundation of Constantinople (ἐπεὶ ἀφ' οὗ ἡ πόλις ἐκτίσθη, αὐτὴ ἦ εἰκὼν ἦν).

many other miracles, and that after 415 years (or 405, according to some manuscripts) it was destroyed by Leo the Isaurian[2]. This isolated statement from an unreliable source has, strangely enough, found wide acceptance among modern scholars. In itself, a fourth-century statue of Christ is not impossible, but there are other compelling reasons for disbelieving this story. Aside from the fact that the *Patria* is replete with legendary reports about Constantine the Great; apart also from the consideration that the *Vita Constantini* knows nothing about this monument, although it shows great interest in all the visual manifestations of the emperor's Christian piety[3]; the decisive argument against accepting the testimony of the *Patria* is that it was certainly an icon (εἰκών) and not a statue (στήλη) that Leo the Isaurian removed from the Chalkê, as will be shown below. Incidentally, the story of the *Patria* is suspiciously reminiscent of the famous Paneas statue which was allegedly set up by the Haemorrhoissa of the Gospels, operated many healings, and was destroyed by Julian[4]. The Paneas statue figured very widely in the Iconoclastic controversy[5], and the Iconoclast emperors were often equated with the godless Julian[6].

If the tradition ascribing the origin of Our Lord's image at the Chalkê to Constantine the Great is thus shown to have little foundation in fact[7], there appears on first sight to be some reason for thinking that this image was already in existence in the reign of Maurice (582—602). A famous legend, first given by Theophanes, reports that the Chalkê image spoke to Maurice in a

[2] II, 219—20.

[3] I do not understand what is meant by Grabar (*L'iconoclasme byzantin*, 132) when he says: "Cependant, lorsqu'on lit, dans la *Vita Constantini* [III, 3] . . . que le Christ de la Porte de Bronze y avait remplacé, sur ordre de Constantin, une effigie de l'empereur lui-même, cette tradition mérite d'être recueillie," etc. Neither the *Vita Constantini* nor any other source says anything of the kind. The only Christian statues attributed to Constantine by the *Vita* are of Daniel in the lions' den and the Good Shepherd.

[4] See Leclercq, DACL, s. v. "Hémorroïsse." The texts have been assembled by Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 197 sq. and 250* sq.

[5] For example, Nicephorus, *De Magnete*, § 51 (Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense*, I, 332—33); Mansi, XIII, 125D; Grumel, *Les regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople*, I 2, 1936, nos. 330, 331; *Vita S. Stephani Iunioris*, PG 100, 1085, etc. The Paneas statue is also mentioned in the *Parastaseis* (53, § 48), the chief source of the *Patria*.

[6] Cf. Theophanes, 432; *Vita S. Stephani Iunioris*, 1181.

[7] This conclusion is not of merely local interest, since it reduces by one more item the rather meagre list of unequivocally Christian monuments said to have been set up in the new capital by Constantine the Great.

dream shortly before the latter's downfall and assassination. The story goes like this. Maurice, by refusing to ransom the Roman prisoners taken by the Avars, was responsible for their slaughter, and the guilt weighed heavily on him. At the same time an oracle announced that his successor's name would begin with the letter Φ, and suspicion fell on the emperor's brother-in-law Philippicus. While in this state of guilty apprehension, Maurice had a vision. Here it is, as told by Theophanes:

"While Maurice was entreating God to have mercy on his soul, he fell asleep one night, and saw in a vision that he was standing in front of the image of Our Saviour at the Bronze Gate of the palace, and a great crowd was surrounding him. And a voice came forth from the image of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ saying, "Bring Maurice hither." And the servants of the law seized him and placed him by the porphyry plaque which is there. And the divine voice said unto him, "Where dost thou wish me to give thee thy due, here or in the world to come?" And hearing this, he said, "Merciful Lord, who judgest right, [let me suffer] here and not in the world to come." Then the divine voice commanded that Maurice with his wife Constantina, his children and all his kinsfolk be delivered over to Phocas the soldier." When Maurice awoke, he summoned Philippicus and, falling at his feet, asked his forgiveness for having gratuitously suspected him[8].

The story of the vision is repeated by later authors[9], and is sometimes presented not as a dream but as an actual event. Its sources are not far to seek. It seems to have arisen through the conflation of the following elements:

a) Shortly before his death, Maurice is said to have sent a circular supplication to the most venerated shrines of the Empire, asking to endure the retribution for his transgressions in this world and not in the world to come[10].

[8] Theophanes, 285.

[9] Georg. Monachus, ed. De Boor, II, 659—60; Cedrenus, I, 704; Zonaras, III, 194; Leo Grammaticus, 140—41; Slavic version of Georg. Hamartolus, ed. Istrin (*Chronika Georgija Amartola*, I, Petrograd, 1920), 430; Nicephorus Callistus, *Eccles. hist.*, xviii. 42, PG 147, 413. Glycas (509) appears to be mistaken in saying αὐτὸν ὁρᾷ τὸν κύριον ἐπὶ θρόνου καθήμενον, in view of the iconography of the icon which is dicussed below, pp. 135 sq.

[10] Theophylactus Simocatta, 305; Theophanes, 284, *et. al.* Theophylactus mentions only Maurice's epistle, not his vision.

b) The vision itself, without any mention of the image, is told by John of Antioch (first half of the seventh century) in practically the same words as by Theophanes: "Maurice suspected the army of Thrace and his brother-in-law Philippicus. And Maurice saw a vision, that he was standing at the porphyry stone of the Chalkê, and it (i. e. the voice in the vision) was asking him, "Where dost thou wish me to give thee thy due, now or in the future?" And he said, "Now". It (i. e. the voice) then ordered him to be delivered over to Phocas the soldier. And he awoke. So Maurice expressed his repentance to Philippicus[11]."

c) A connection between Maurice and the image is provided by the following passage of the *Patria*, which has been quoted above (p. 98): "The statues of Maurice, his wife and his children stand at the Chalkê, above (ἄνωθεν) the image of the God-man Jesus Christ. It is he (Maurice) who made them[12]."

In view of these texts, it may be surmised that the inclusion of Christ's image in the story of Maurice's dream was made during the Iconoclastic period, when the Chalkê icon won great notoriety and when it would have been opportune to put a quasi-miraculous incident to its credit. If, however, the original version of the vision did not mention the image[13], it may be questioned whether the image existed in the reign of Maurice. Furthermore, if the passage from the *Patria* which I have just quoted is correct,

[11] *Excerpta de insidiis*, ed. De Boor, 148, § 108 = Müller, *Fragm. hist. graec.*, V, 36. It is worth quoting the Greek text which is written in a very compressed form: ὅτι ὑφωρᾶτο Μαυρίκιος εἰς τὸν στρατὸν Θρᾴκης καὶ εἰς τὸν γαμβρὸν Φιλιππικόν, καὶ εἶδεν ἀποκάλυψιν ὁ Μαυρίκιος, ὅτι ἵστατο ἐν τῷ πορφυρῷ μαρμάρῳ τῆς Χαλκῆς· καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ· ποῦ θέλεις ἀποδώσω σοι, ὧδε ἢ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· ὧδε. καὶ τότε ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτὸν ἐκδοθῆναι Φωκᾷ στρατιώτῃ, καὶ διυπνίσθη. ἐποίησεν οὖν μετάνοιαν τῷ Φιλιππικῷ ὁ Μαυρίκιος. On first reading one may easily assume that the dialogue is between Maurice and Philippicus, in which case it is not at all clear who said what. In view, however, of the parallel passage in Theophanes, Müller is certainly right in suggesting that the subject of ἔλεγεν and ἐπέτρεψεν is ἀποκάλυψις, unless some other word, like ἡ φωνή, has dropped out.

[12] II, 196—97. In the *Parastaseis* one folio of the manuscript is missing at this point. Preger has filled the gap (p. 22) by supplying the corresponding passage from the *Patria*, but this results in an anachronism. If the *Parastaseis* was in fact composed in the reign of Constantine V, it could not have mentioned the image of Christ as being in existence. Incidentally, the *Patria* does not imply that the icon of Christ was also made by Maurice, as stated by Grabar (*L'iconoclasme byzantin*, 132).

[13] Prof. E. Kitzinger ("The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm," DOP, VIII, 1954, 102, n. 63) suggests that the text of John of Antioch is incomplete and would make better sense if it contained some mention of the image of Christ, but this, I think, goes a little beyond our evidence.

it may be asked whether Maurice would have placed the statues of himself and his family above the icon of Christ, had the latter been already in existence. These considerations, though certainly not conclusive, make it somewhat doubtful that the image of Christ could have been set up before the seventh century. In any case, it may be said to belong to that era of pietism and increased devotion to icons which begins in the last quarter of the sixth century and extends throughout the seventh, an era when, to use Grabar's happy phrase, the emperors started to have recourse to "la politique de l'icone[14]."

The Chalkê Image during the Period of Iconoclasm

Up to the very time of its destruction by Leo III, the Chalkê image does not appear to have held any outstanding significance. In his famous letter of admonition to Thomas, bishop of Claudiopolis, written prior to any act of iconoclasm on the part of the emperor[15], the Patriarch Germanus assembles various arguments in favour of image-worship, including the following one: "And again, have not our emperors themselves, most pious and Christ-loving in all things, erected a monument, verily, of their own love of God — I mean the image in front of the palace (τὴν πρὸ τῶν βασιλείων λέγω εἰκόνα), on which they have represented the likenesses of the apostles and the prophets, and written down their utterances about the Lord — thus proclaiming the cross of salvation to be the proud ornament of their faith?[16]" The phrase πρὸ τῶν βασιλείων is, unfortunately, too vague to determine the location of this composition which appears to have been more appropriate to a church than to a secular monument. Germanus singles out this image presumably because it had been set up by the reigning emperors (Constantine V having been associated to the throne in 720), but it is curious that he should not mention in this context the image of Christ above the Chalkê gate which was the outward symbol of imperial devotion to icons, and was soon to become so famous.

[14] *L'iconoclasme byzantin*, 36.

[15] For the date, see Ostrogorsky, "Les débuts de la Querelle des Images," *Mélanges Diehl*, I, 238.

[16] PG 98, 185A = Mansi, XIII, 124—25.

The destruction of the Chalkê image by Leo III was the first overt act of iconoclasm on the part of that emperor. The exact circumstances of this extremely momentous incident are not altogether clear, and the same uncertainty applies to its date, which is usually held to be 726, but may have been 730 (see Appendix I). To start with, here is the account given by Theophanes: "The people of the imperial city, sorely distressed by his [the emperor's] new teachings, thought of assailing him, and they killed some of the emperor's men who had taken down the Lord's image which was over the great Bronze Gate (τὴν τοῦ κυρίου εἰκόνα τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς μεγάλης χαλκῆς πύλης), so that many of them were punished for their piety by mutilation, stripes, banishment and fines, especially those outstanding in nobility and culture. In this manner the schools of learning were extinguished, as well as religious education (τὴν εὐσεβῆ παίδευσιν), which had lasted from St. Constantine the Great down to this time, and was destroyed, along with many other good things, by this Saracen-minded Leo[17]." Thus, according to Theophanes, the Chalkê incident led to a persecution of the educated class and contributed to the decline of higher learning[18].

The First Letter of Pope Gregory II to Leo III, which is heavily interpolated if it is not entirely a fabrication, gives a more detailed story which differs from Theophanes on some important points:

"When they [the kings of the West] learnt and were informed that thou hadst sent the *spatharocandidatus* Julian [or Jovinus, according to some manuscripts] to the Chalkoprateia, to destroy and break up the Saviour who is called τοῦ Ἀντιφωνητοῦ, where many miracles had taken place, [and that] some zealous women were found there, [like unto] the Myrophoroi, who begged the spathar, saying, "Do not, Oh, do not [do that]!"; he, however, disregarding their prayer, and having set up his ladder, climbed up, and when he had struck the face of the Saviour's image (τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ χαρακτῆρος τοῦ σωτῆρος) three times with his axe, the women, on seeing this, and being unable to bear the iniquity, pulled down the ladder and beat him thoroughly, killing him on

[17] Theophanes, 405. Cf. Cedrenus, I, 795; Leo Grammaticus, 176, etc.

[18] Cf. L. Bréhier, "Notes sur l'histoire de l'enseignement supérieur à Constantinople," *Byzantion*, IV (1927—28), 13 sq.

the spot; and that thou, emulator of evil, didst dispatch [thy soldiers] and killed I know not how many women there, in the presence of competent men from Rome, from Francia, from the Vandals, from Mauritania, from Gotthia, and, in general, from the whole nearer West; when, therefore, each of them came back and explained to his own country thy juvenile and childish works, then they threw down thy *laurata*, and trampled on them, and cursed thy portrait (καὶ ἀνασκαφὴν τοῦ προσώπου σου ἐποιήσαντο)[19]." This, continues the author, was followed by the capture of Ravenna by the Lombards and the "Sarmatians" who set up their own rulers there[20].

The specific details of this account, such as the name of the imperial official who was entrusted with the destruction of the image, appear at first sight to be due to an eye-witness. Yet this account presents great difficulties. Apart from the exaggerated effects ascribed to the incident, and from the strange presence on the spot of so many western visitors, among them Vandals and Mauritanians[21], the most significant difficulty, and one which has not been sufficiently stressed in the voluminous controversy regarding the authenticity of this document, is the fact that the destruction takes place at the Chalkoprateia. This is obviously a mistake, since there can be no doubt that the image in question was the one of the Chalkê and not the Antiphonêtês of the Chalkoprateia (on which see below, pp. 142 sq). Partisans of the authenticity of the Letter may argue that the Pope could easily have confused the Chalkê with the Chalkoprateia, in view of the similarity of the two names, whereas such a confusion would not have been committed by a Constantinopolitan forger. Yet the confusion does not appear to be fortuitous. As Caspar has pointed out[22], several of the manuscripts containing Pope Gregory's

[19] On the idiomatic use of ἀνασκάπτω, ἀνασκαφή, cf. E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon*, s. v.; P. J. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople*, Oxford, 1958, 125.

[20] Mansi, XII, 970D—E; PL 89, 518—19 (Latin trans. only); critical ed. by Caspar, "Papst Gregor II und der Bilderstreit," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, LII (1933), 81—82. Ravenna was taken by the Lombards between 731 and 735, which is an important argument against acribing this letter to Gregory II (d. 11 Feb. 731). Cf. Diehl, *Etudes sur l'administration byzantine dans l'exarchat de Ravenne*, Paris, 1888, 377 n. 5. Ostrogorsky ("Les débuts de la Querelle des Images," 248 n. 2) tries to minimize this difficulty.

[21] Cf. *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, I, 413, n. 45.

[22] *Op. cit.*, 52.

Letter also include the *Soul-benefiting story concerning the Icon of Our Lord of the Chalkoprateia, and for what reason it has been called Antiphonêtês*, about which we shall have more to say later (pp. 142 sq). Particularly significant is the fact that in the Vat. Palat. gr. 308 (saec. XI), which appears to be the oldest manuscript of Pope Gregory's two Letters, these are immediately followed by the miracle-story of the Antiphonêtês[23]. A connection between the two is, therefore, most likely. Caspar himself, although he advocates the authenticity of the Letters, admits that the Chalkoprateia incident was either added *in toto* or else freely altered by a "glossator" under the influence of the miracle-story. Since we are not concerned here with establishing the *Urtext* of the Papal Letter, it is sufficient to note that its account of the destruction of Christ's image cannot be considered reliable.

The *Life of St. Stephen the Younger*, written a few years before the Chronicle of Theophanes, gives a substantially different account of the Chalkê incident, which it places after the elevation of Anastasius on the patriarchal throne (January 22, 730). "Whereupon", it says, "having embarked on his heresy in a determined manner, the tyrant straightaway attempts to take down and consign to the flames the holy icon of Christ, Our Lord and God, which stood above the imperial gates called, on account of this image, the holy Chalkê; and this he actually did" (πειρᾶται παρευθὺ τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ δεσποτικὴν εἰκόνα Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν τὴν ἱδρυμένην ὕπερθεν τῶν βασιλικῶν πυλῶν, ἐν οἵσπερ διὰ τὸν χαρακτῆρα ἡ ἁγία Χαλκῆ λέγεται, κατενέγκαι καὶ πυρὶ παραδοῦναι, ὃ καὶ πεποίηκεν). The pious women who happened to be present pulled down the ladder and killed the spathar who was carrying out the emperor's order. Then they rushed to the patriarchal palace and threw stones at Anastasius. The latter, greatly upset by this discomfiture, fled to the emperor and persuaded him to put the women to death[24].

Setting aside for the present the important discrepancies be-

[23] H. Stevenson, *Codd. mss. Palat. graec. bibl. Vatic.*, Rome, 1885, 173—74. The manuscript tradition of Pope Gregory's Letters is discussed, though not exhaustively, by L. Guérard, "Les lettres de Grégoire II à Léon l'Isaurien," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, X (1890), 44 sq.

[24] PG 100, 1085C—D. Gedeon, Βυζαντινὸν ἑορτολόγιον, 284 gives some extracts from another version of this *Vita* from cod. 78 Δ of Lavra, which describes the image as being ὑπεράνω τῆς πύλης, ἡ οὕτω συνήθως ἡ Χαλκῆ λέγεται.

tween these three accounts (see Appendix I), I should like to lay stress on the words εἰκών and χαρακτήρ ("portrait") which certainly denote a painted image[25]. Hence it is erroneous to speak of a statue of Christ in this connection, as many scholars have done. Furthermore, if the *Life of St. Stephen* can be trusted, we must conclude that the image was on a detachable panel, since it could be taken down and burnt.

The destruction of the Chalkê image by Leo III was naturally seized upon by hagiographers who embellished it with many edifying amplifications. Furthermore, the hagiographic versions of this story fall into two redactions, the "Marian" which is the older one, and the "Theodosian" which is later and full of gross contradictions[26].

The main text of the "Marian" redaction is an anonymous *Passio* written in the second half of the ninth century, soon after the earthquake of January 869[27]. According to this document, which depends both on Theophanes and the *Life of St. Stephen*, it was after the inconoclastic Silentium (January 17, 730) and the resignation of Germanus that Leo ordered the destruction and burning of the Chalkê image (ὅπως τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ Χαλκῇ πύλῃ οὖσαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἁγίαν εἰκόνα κατεάξαι καὶ πυρὶ παραδοῦναι: note the resemblance in wording to the *Life of St. Stephen*)[28]. Soldiers were immediately dispatched to this end, and they set up a ladder in the presence of the godless Beser, Leo's adviser. But as the news spread through the city, the orthodox came running down to the Chalkê. At their head was Mary the patrician, a lady of imperial lineage, and ten other saints, whose names are enumerated in the title of the opuscule: Gregory the *protosphatharius*, Julian, Marcian, John, James,

[25] On the meaning of these terms, see D. Ajnalov, "Sinajskija ikony voskovoj živopisi," *Viz. Vrem.*, IX (1902), 349.

[26] The two redactions have been distinguished by Loparev in his introduction to Antony of Novgorod, xcv—xcvii.

[27] ASS, Aug. vol. II, 428—48; cf. Delehaye, *Synax. CP*, 877—80 (August 9); Gedeon, Βυζαντινὸν ἑορτολόγιον, 151; Lambecius, *Comment. de Aug. Bibl. Caes. Vindob.*, VIII, Vienna, 1679, 118. The *passio* has been discussed by Loparev, "Vizantijskija žitija svjatych VIII—IX vekov," *Viz. Vrem.*, XVII (1910), 47—55. The Typicon of the Great Church (end of the 9th century) is content to mention under Aug. 9, "the holy martyrs who suffered for the icon of Our Lord Jesus Christ" (Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie liturgičeskich rukopisej*, I, 102).

[28] ASS, Aug. vol. II, 441 B.

Alexius, Demetrius, Leontius, Photius and Peter[29]. They threw down the spathar who had climbed up on the ladder and killed him. Leo was greatly incensed and sent five hundred soldiers against the crowd, so that many people perished in the melée. This happened on the 19th of January[30]. The saints, all except Mary who was of imperial descent, were thrown in prison for eight months, in the course of which five hundred stripes were daily inflicted on them. At the end of this period they were fetched before the emperor who sat on a rostrum in front of the Chalkê and tried in vain to make them renounce their faith. As they refused, their faces were branded with red-hot spits. They were then beheaded in the Kynegion, and their bodies were thrown in the district called *ta Pelagiou*, the burial place of criminals. The date of their execution was the 9th of August[31]. The saints' bodies were secretly removed by the orthodox and buried in the church of St. Demetrius which was attached to the monastery of Aninas. This church collapsed in the reign of Theophilus, and the uncorrupted bodies of the martyrs remained hidden under the débris. Then, during the terrible earthquake of January 869, the saints appeared in a dream to the Patriarch Ignatius and bade him uncover their bodies. A solemn procession went to the monastery of Aninas and, as it drew nigh, a wonderful fragrance filled the air, and the earthquake suddenly stopped. The bodies were found intact, that of Mary being on top of the others. They were placed in a cypress coffin on January 31, 869[32] and were still to be seen in 1200[33].

The "Theodosian" redaction makes the nun Theodosia, and not Mary the patrician, the protagonist of the Chalkê incident. This story appears for the first time in the Menologium of Basil II which preserves, however, the memory of "Julian and his companions," including Mary the Patrician, on the 9th of August[34]. Theodosia of Constantinople, whose feast was on the

[29] Gregory and sometimes Marcian are omitted from the Synaxaria (Delehaye, *Synax. CP*, 873_{56}, 878).

[30] 442D.

[31] 444F. The title of the *passio*, however, gives the date of commemoration as August 8 (428B).

[32] 447A.

[33] Antony of Novgorod, ed. Loparev, 26 = *Itin. russes*, 103.

[34] PG 117, 580B.

18th of July, lived, according to the Menologium, during the reign of Constantine V, which did not prevent her from having overturned the spathar's ladder and suffered martyrdom under Leo III[35]. She was executed with a ram's horn, and this strange death is commemorated by the distich:

> "The ram's horn which killed thee, O Theodosia,
> Appeared to thee as a new Horn of Amalthea[36]."

It is unnecessary to follow here the legend of St. Theodosia, which enjoyed great popularity[37] while becoming more and more naive. According to a *laudatio* contained in a twelfth-century manuscript (Koutloumousiou, no. 109), Constantine V gallopped through the streets of Constantinople in pursuit of the fleeing Theodosia. When he caught up with her, the executioner who followed his master seized a ram's horn and threw it at the saint. It struck her in the neck, and she promptly expired[38]. St. Theodosia of Constantinople was furthermore confused with St. Theodosia of Tyre, whose feast is on the 29th of May. Her cult, localized in her church on the Golden Horn, was particularly fervent in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It may be recalled that when the Turks entered Constantinople on the 29th of May 1453, they intercepted a crowd of faithful who were going with tapers to the church of St. Theodosia[39].

In the opinion of modern scholars, Leo III replaced by a plain cross the image of Christ which he had removed from the Chalkê gate. This view is based on an epigram quoted by St. Theodore the Studite in his *Refutatio poematum iconomachorum*. I hope to show, however, that this epigram, which mentions the

[35] *Ibid.*, 548—49. In *Synax. CP*, 828—29 her *floruit* is placed with more likelihood in the reign of Theodosius III and Leo III. See also Latyšev, *Menologii anonymi byzantini saec. X quae supersunt*, II, St. Petersburg, 1912, 186—88 (July 19), and *id.* "Vizantijskaja 'carskaja' mineja," *Zapiski Imper. Akad. Nauk*, ser. 8, vol. XII, no. 7, St. Petersburg, 1915, 245—47. This menologium is not of the 10th century as claimed in Latyšev's title, but of the 11th. Cf. "Vizantijskaja 'carskaja' mineja," 101 n. 1; F. Halkin, "Le mois de janvier dans le 'ménologe impérial' byzantin," *Anal. Boll.*, LVII (1939), 228—30.

[36] Greek Menaea, May 29th: κέρας κριοῦ κτεῖνάν σε, Θεοδοσία, ὤφθη νέον σοι τῆς Ἀμαλθείας κέρας.

[37] Three laudations of her have been preserved (BHG, nos. 1773z sq).

[38] Gedeon, Βυζαντινὸν ἑορτολόγιον, 130 sq.; cf. 37.

[39] Ducas, 293—94. Cf. Du Cange, *Constantinopolis Christiana*, lib. IV, 190. On the cult of St. Theodosia, see J. Pargoire, "Constantinople: l'église Sainte-Théodosie," EO, IX (1906), 161—65.

emperors Leo and Constantine, refers not to Leo III and Constantine V, but to Leo V and his son Symbatios-Constantine (see below, pp. 122 sq). But even if this epigram cannot be used with reference to Leo III, it is nevertheless possible, in view of the particular devotion for the cross on the part of the Iconoclasts[40], that this emperor placed a cross over the Chalkê gate.

In connection with the suppression of the Chalkê image by Leo III, it is also necessary to dispel a myth that has found its way into several authoritative works, namely that the very same image that was removed by the Isaurian emperor still exists in the Lateran, and is none other than the famous *acheropita* of the Sancta Sanctorum[41]. Setting aside the character of the Lateran image which does not favour such a supposition[42], it may be of interest to show how the misunderstanding arose. According to tradition, the icon of the Lateran came from Constantinople. It was allegedly placed in the sea by the Patriarch Germanus, and was miraculously carried by the waves to Rome. In a paper devoted to legends of "floating" images and to the Lateran *acheropita* in particular, F. de Mély was the first to suggest that the latter was in fact the icon of the Chalkê[43]. His argumentation rests on the following passage of Georgius Hamartolus:

"From that time on the wild beast [Leo III] embarked on his heresy in a high-handed and impious manner, and having thrown down the image of Our Lord Jesus Christ which was over the Brazen Gate of the palace, he called together a sacrilegious meeting against the holy images. He invited again the blessed Germanus, imagining that he could persuade him to subscribe against the holy images. But the latter in no way yielded to the flattery or the deceit of the accursed one. Having placed his

[40] See G. Millet, "Les iconoclastes et la croix," BCH, XXXIV (1910), 96—109.

[41] So Lauer, "Le trésor du Sancta Sanctorum," *Monuments Piot*, XV (1906), 26; *id.*, *Le palais du Latran*, Paris, 1911, 93—95; Leclercq, article "Jésus-Christ," DACL, VII 2, 2456—58.

[42] The *acheropita* was covered by Pope Innocent III with a silver revetment which left only the face visible. It was stripped and examined for the first time by Wilpert who published it ("L'acheropita ossia l'immagine del Salvatore della cappella del *Sancta Sanctorum*," *L'Arte*, X (1907), 161—77, 247—62). The image, almost obliterated, represents Christ seated on a throne. There remain small traces of an inscription which Wilpert completes (EMMA)N(V)EL. The workmanship, according to Wilpert, is Roman.

[43] "L'image du Christ du Sancta Sanctorum et les reliques chrétiennes apportées par les flots," *Mém. de la Soc. Nat. des Antiq. de France*, LXIII (1904), 113—44.

omophorion on the holy altar of the Great Church, he laid aside his sacerdotal office and withdrew. Then, having taken up the holy image of the Saviour *which he had in his house* (ἣν ἔσχε παρ' ἑαυτῷ), and written these words on a piece of paper, 'O Saviour, save Thyself and us,' he placed it in the sea, and the image, guided by a divine force, dry and upright, floated over to Rome. The Patriarch there, having had a revelation, went out with his whole clergy, with tapers and incense, and saw the image travelling over the waters. Then, of its own accord, it came out [of the water] and into the hands of the Patriarch, in his boat, without approaching any other vessel. The prelate embraced it and carried it to the chanting of psalms and hymns to the Great Church. It had remained quite dry, except to a height of about three inches where it was damp. And this for the greater glory of God[44]."

De Mély assumed that the whole passage referred to the Chalkê image and so was misled into translating, "Puis, ayant pris l'image sacrée du Sauveur *qu'il avait recueillie chez lui . . .*" while it is quite clear from the Greek text that it was not the Chalkê image that the patriarch placed in the sea, but one which he had παρ' ἑαυτῷ, in his own possession. This is confirmed by other versions of the same story. A short opuscule concerning the "Roman image", of which de Mély gave a French translation after the Colbert gr. 635, and which has been published after several manuscripts by Dobschütz[45], says that the image came from the patriarchal palace and that it was a mosaic on a wooden panel, and therefore certainly not the Lateran *acheropita*. The oldest version of this legend, incorporated into the *Synodal Letter* of the Oriental Patriarchs to Theophilus, also says quite distinctly that the icon which Germanus sent to Rome had stood in the patriarchal palace (εἰκόνα ἱδρυμένην ἐν τῷ εὐαγῇ πατριαρχείῳ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως)[46].

The Christ of the Chalkê has therefore nothing to do with the Lateran *acheropita*, nor with the so-called "Roman image". The

[44] PG 110, 921 B—D; ed. Muralt, 634—35. This passage is omitted from De Boor's ed. of Georgius Monachus (II, 743) and is also lacking in the Slavic version (Istrin's ed., I, 471).

[45] *Christusbilder*, 213**—216**. Cf. the *Vita Germani* ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Μαυρογορδάτειος βιβλιοθήκη, ΚΕΦΣ, Suppl. to vol. XVI (1885), 15.

[46] Sakkelion's ed., 32.

latter is sometimes described, as in the passages quoted above, as an icon of Christ, but more often as a Virgin and Child. It floated back to Constantinople in the same miraculous manner shortly after the death of Theophilus and was placed in the church of St. Mary Chalkoprateia[47]. In 1200 Antony of Novgorod saw it in the sanctuary of St. Sophia[48], while the anonymous Russian pilgrim of 1390 says that it was in a convent dedicated to the Virgin[49].

During the reign of Irene (780—802), presumably after the Council of 787, the image of the Chalkê was restored. Our knowledge of this restoration is limited to a brief statement in the *Patria*[50] and to the inscription that was placed over the new image. According to the *Scriptor incertus*, the inscription was as follows: Ἣν καθεῖλε πάλαι Λέων ὁ δεσπόζων, ἐνταῦθα ἀνεστήλωσεν Εἰρήνη[51], to wit, "[The image] which Leo the emperor had formerly cast down, Irene has re-erected here.' As S. G. Mercati has correctly pointed out[52], this is a garbled version of an iambic distich which shows a remarkable similarity to the famous mosaic inscription over the apse of St. Sophia:

Ἃς οἱ πλάνοι καθεῖλον ἐνθάδ' εἰκόνας
ἄνακτες ἐστήλωσαν εὐσεβεῖς πάλιν[53].

Assuming that the authentic text of Irene's epigram was fairly close to the version of the *Scriptor incertus*, one may draw attention to its concision and reticence. It was not a confession of faith like the epigrams of Leo V and of Theodora which we shall presently discuss, nor did it contrast the impiety of Leo the Isaurian with the orthodoxy of the reigning sovereign. This cautious attitude may have been dictated by the strength of the Iconoclastic party, made all too evident by the forcible inter-

[47] Dobschütz, "Maria Romana," BZ, XII (1903), 173—214, esp. 201—02.
[48] Loparev's ed., 2; cf. introduction, lxx. *Itin. russes*, 88.
[49] Speranskij's ed., 132 = *Itin. russes*, 230.
[50] II, 219: ἡ δὲ νῦν διὰ ψηφίδων ὁρωμένη εἰκὼν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀνιστορήθη παρὰ Εἰρήνης τῆς Ἀθηναίας. This is not, strictly speaking correct, since the compiler of the *Patria* had before him the image restored by Theodora and not that of Irene.
[51] 355.
[52] "Note d'epigrafia bizantina," *Bessarione*, anno XXIV (1920), 193.
[53] *Anthol. Palat.*, I. 1; cf. S. G. Mercati, "Sulle iscrizioni di Santa Sofia," *Bessarione*, XXVI (1922), 204—05; C. Mango, *The Homilies of Photius*, Cambridge, Mass., 1958, 285.

ruption of the council at the Church of the Holy Apostles (786), and by the popular reverence for the memory of Leo III. The absence of any mention of Constantine VI may indicate that the Chalkê image was restored during Irene's sole reign (797—802).

Irene's image did not last long. Just as the removal of the icon of the Chalkê had marked the outbreak of Iconoclasm under Leo III, so a repetition of the same act opened the second iconoclastic period under Leo V, although this emperor, upon his triumphal entry into the capital (July 813), did not hesitate to pay his respects to this very image[54]. A day or two before Christmas 814[55], Leo V ordered some of his soldiers to throw stones and mud at the icon of the Chalkê, and then he said to the people: "Let us take down from there the icon so that the army should not dishonour it" (ἄς καταβάσωμεν ἐκεῖθεν τὴν εἰκόνα, ἵνα μὴ ὁ στρατὸς ἀτιμάζῃ αὐτήν)[56]. This indicates that Irene's icon was detachable like the original one. According to the interpolated version of the *Synodal Letter* of the Oriental Patriarchs, which is very well-informed on this period, the icon was thrown on the ground and spat on[57]. This outrage is recalled in the office of the Sunday of Orthodoxy in these words: "Who will not lament the daring deed, on seeing the holy Face which is at the Bronze Gate of the palace stoned by iniquitous men, at the instigation of John [the future iconoclast patriarch]?[58]"

By order of Leo V, Irene's image was replaced by a plain cross. It is to this cross that refers the epigram preserved by St. Theodore the Studite in an opuscule entitled Ἔλεγχος καὶ ἀνατροπὴ τῶν ἀσεβῶν ποιημάτων Ἰωάννου, Ἰγνατίου, Σεργίου καὶ Στεφάνου, τῶν νέων χριστομάχων, usually referred to as *Refutatio poematum iconomachorum*. The epigram is as follows:

Εἰς τὴν πύλην τῆς Χαλκῆς ὑποκάτω τοῦ σταυροῦ.
Ἄφωνον εἶδος καὶ πνοῆς ἐξηρμένον
Χριστὸν γράφεσθαι μὴ φέρων ὁ δεσπότης,

[54] Genesius, 6—7; Theoph. Cont., 18—19; cf. above, p. 84.
[55] For the date, see P. J. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople*, 129.
[56] Script. incertus, 354—55.
[57] PG 95, 376 B: καὶ τούτου τὸν σεβάσμιον χαρακτῆρα τὸν ὄντα ἐν τῇ Χαλκῇ λίθοις καὶ κόπροις καὶ πηλώδεσι μάζαις, ἐμπτύοντες εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, προσέρριπτον, διαρρήξαντες αὐτὸν εἰς τοὔδαφος.
[58] *Triodion*, Venice, 1891, 132.

ὕλῃ γεηρᾷ ταῖς γραφαῖς πατουμένῃ,
Λέων σὺν υἱῷ τῷ νέῳ Κωνσταντίνῳ
σταυροῦ χαράττει τὸν τρισόλβιον τύπον,
καύχημα πιστῶν, ἐν πύλαις ἀνακτόρων[59].

"At the gate of the Chalkê, under the cross: The Lord[60] not suffering Christ to be portrayed in voiceless form devoid of breath, by means of earthly matter which the Scriptures reject, Leo and his son, the new Constantine, trace the thrice-blessed sign of the cross, the glory of the faithful[61], at the palace gates."

The *Refutatio poematum iconomachorum* is devoted, as its title indicates, to the criticism of poems by the iconoclasts John, Ignatius, Sergius and Stephen. These are followed by the epigram on the Chalkê which may be by the same Stephen, and by an iconoclast subscription which makes reference to the Council of 815[62]. The iconoclast poems, which contain an initial, median and final *acrostichis*, are refuted both in prose and in poems exhibiting the same complex structure as those of Theodore's opponents. The *Refutatio* was written shortly after 815 as proved not only by the subscription and a reference to the recrudescence of Iconoclasm after a period of interruption[63], but also by the fact that the composition of this work is mentioned in Theodore's letter to Letoius[64] which, like all the other letters in the second section of Coisl. 269, dates from 815—19[65]. According to a recent

[59] PG 99, 437C; Banduri, *Imperium Orientale*, I, Paris, 1711, lib. vii, 180, and II, 869 (commentary).

[60] In the Latin version printed by Migne as well as in Banduri δεσπότης is rendered by "imperator." That this refers to the deity is, however, indicated by Theodore's refutation (*ibid.*, 464 A): ἐπυθόμην δ'ἂν ἡδέως αὐτοῦ, οὐκ ἐν ὕλῃ γεηρᾷ ταῖς γραφαῖς πατουμένῃ ὁ ἐγχαραχθεὶς τοῦ σταυροῦ τύπος; πῶς οὖν φέρει ἐν τούτῳ ὁ δεσπότης τὴν ἀτιμίαν;

[61] καύχημα πιστῶν echoes *Galat.*, 6. 14. Cf. Millet, "Les iconoclastes et la croix," 102—03.

[62] Cf. Grumel, "Recherches récentes sur l'iconoclasme," EO, XXIX (1930), 98; P. J. Alexander, "The Iconoclastic Council of St. Sophia (815)," DOP, VII (1953), 66; A. P. Dobroklonskij, *Prep. Feodor Ispovednik* (*Zapiski Imper. Novorossijskago Univ.*, 113), Odessa, 1913, 752 n. 3. The second part of Dobroklonskij's study which deals with the works of St. Theodore is, unfortunately, unavailable to me.

[63] PG 99, 444D.

[64] Ed. G. Cozza-Luzi in Mai's *Nova Patrum bibliotheca*, VIII, Rome, 1871, 208, no. 257.

[65] See B. Melioranskij, "Perečen' vizantijskich gramot i pisem, I," *Zapiski Imper. Akad. Nauk*, VIII[e] sér., cl. hist.-phil., t. IV, no. 5 (1899), 34—35; summarised by Bury, *History of the Eastern Roman Empire*, 451—52.

suggestion, the poet John was the Patriarch John the Grammarian (837—843) and Ignatius was the well-known hagiographer and poet Ignatius the Deacon[66]. Whether this is so or not[67], we find two of the same poets at the court of Theophilus. In the detailed description of this emperor's buildings within the Great Palace we are told that in a hall named Pyxites were carved verses by the *asecretis* Stephen Capetolites, and that the verses inscribed in the gallery of the Sigma were by Ignatius, the οἰκουμενικὸς διδάσκαλος[68].

It is quite evident that throughout the *Refutatio* St. Theodore is venting his dialectic against contemporary iconoclasts. Why, then, should he abruptly introduce an epigram which, had it belonged to Leo III, would have been almost a century old, and which, in all probability, would have been removed by Irene when she restored the Chalkê image? The epigram for the cross of the Chalkê offers furthermore a striking similarity, both in content and phraseology, to the other iconoclast poems which likewise mention the emperors Leo and Constantine[69]. As for the latter, we know that in 813 Leo V crowned his eldest son Symbatios, whom he renamed Constantine, and that it pleased him to hear the soldiers acclaiming "Leo and Constantine" as in the great days of the Isaurian dynasty[70]. Thus there is no objection to dating the epigram *ca.* 815.

By virtue of its position over the entrance of the imperial palace, the inscription of Leo V and Constantine had the character of an official manifesto. A poem of six lines could not, of course, be regarded as a precise theological formulation, yet there is every reason to believe that its wording was chosen with deliberation. The contents of the epigram are, therefore, of some significance for the understanding of the religious views held during the second period of Iconoclasm. The arguments expressed in

[66] E. E. Lipšic, "O pochode Rusi na Vizantiju ranee 842 goda," *Istoričeskie Zapiski*, XXVI (1948), 320 sq.

[67] It seems very likely that the poet John whom St. Theodore describes as the precursor of the Antichrist and accuses of leading the people into error (444C) is indeed the future patriarch.

[68] Theoph. Cont., 143.

[69] 477A (by Ignatius?): Λέων τε Κωνσταντῖνος οἱ στεφηφόροι. Cf. 436B (by John): οἱ φοροῦντες τὰ στέφη: 437A (by Ignatius): οἱ μέγιστοι δεσπόται: 476B (by Ignatius): οἱ δεσπόται.

[70] Scriptor incertus, 346; Genesius, 26. Cf. Bury, *Eastern Roman Empire*, 58—59.

the epigram are, however, surprisingly conservative, even archaic, for the early ninth century. They lay stress merely on the Biblical prohibition (i. e. the Second Commandment) and on the impossibility of representing Christ by means of matter which is mute and dead. The latter contention conceals, as St. Theodore points out in his refutation[71], the argument of idolatry which, strangely enough, was not used at the Council of 815[72]. Note also the careful distinction between the ἄφωνον εἶδος of the icon and the τύπος ("symbol") of the cross[73]. Prof. Grabar, who devotes a lengthy analysis to this epigram[74], considers it to be a faithful reflection of the initial stage of Byzantine Iconoclasm, before the Council of 754, when the central issue was that of idolatry. In fact, as he correctly points out, the arguments expressed in the epigram had been perfectly familiar long before Leo III. If, therefore, the Iconoclasm of the ninth century possessed any originality, this does not appear in the imperial manifesto over the Chalkê gate.

Restoration of the Image

After the final triumph of Orthodoxy in 843, the empress Theodora again placed the image of Christ over the Brazen Gate. The new image was a mosaic, and the Lord was pictured on it standing full-length[75]. It is said that the famous monk Lazarus, whose hands had been burnt with red-hot iron leaves (perhaps horse-shoes: πέταλα σιδηρᾶ ἀπανθρακωθέντα) at the order of Theophilus, made the icon of the Chalkê with his own mutilated hands (οἰκείαις οὗτος χερσὶν ἀνεστήλωσεν)[76], which is difficult to believe[77], unless the severity of his punishment has been exag-

[71] PG 99 464B.

[72] P. J. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus*, 139.

[73] St. Theodore objected to this use of τύπος. The icon, he argues, should be called a τύπος, while the cross is a σημεῖον (PG 99, 457B—C).

[74] *L'iconoclasme byzantin*, 134—36.

[75] *Patria*, II, 219, variant of cod. G (Paris. suppl. gr. 657). Cf. below, p. 135.

[76] Theoph. Cont., 103; Cedrenus, II, 113—14. Zonaras (III, 365) says more explicitly that the image was painted (γράψαι) by Lazarus because the previous one had been scraped off (τῆς πρώην οὔσης θείας εἰκόνος ἐκεῖ πάλαι ἀποξεσθείσης). Zonaras imagined, therefore, the previous image to have been a painting or mosaic executed directly on the wall, as against the older sources which imply that it was detachable.

[77] Cf. Bury, *Eastern Roman Empire*, 140 n. 4.

gerated. Apart from the Christ of the Chalkê, Lazarus was also credited with a miraculous icon of St. John the Baptist which he painted in the suburban monastery τοῦ Φοβεροῦ during the persecution of Theophilus. The much later tradition attributing to him the mosaic of the Virgin and two archangels in the apse of St. Sophia is almost certainly fictitious[78]. Lazarus died shortly after 865 and was canonized[79].

We are most fortunate in possessing an epigram by the Patriarch Methodius († June 14, 847) which may have been inscribed beside the restored icon of the Chalkê. It is contained in the Paris. Suppl. gr. 690 (*saec.* XII) and the Ambros. gr. 41 (*saec.* XII), and runs as follows:

Μεθοδίου πατριάρχου εἰς τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς Χαλκῆς[80].
Σοῦ, Χριστέ, τὴν ἄχραντον εἰκόνα βλέπων
σταυρόν τε τὸν σὸν ἐκτύπως γεγραμμένον,
τὴν σὴν ἀληθῆ σάρκα προσκυνῶν σέβω.
λόγος γὰρ ὢν τοῦ πατρὸς ἄχρονος φύσει
ἐκ μητρὸς ὤφθης ἐν χρόνῳ βροτὸς φύσει·
ὅθεν περιγράφων σε καὶ γράφων τύποις
οὐ τὴν ἄϋλον συμπεριγράφω φύσιν·
γραφῆς γὰρ αὕτη καὶ παθῶν ἀνωτέρα·
τὴν δ' αὖ παθητὴν σάρκα σου γράφων, λόγε,
ἀσυμπερίγραφόν σε τὸν θεὸν λέγω.
ἀλλ' οἱ μαθηταὶ τῶν Μάνεντος δογμάτων,
οἱ τὴν δόκησιν φληναφοῦντες ἀφρόνως,
ὡς φάσμα τὴν σάρκωσιν ἀκλεῶς λέγειν,
ἣν προσλαβὼν ἔσωσας ἀνθρώπων γένος,
μὴ προσβλέπειν φέροντες εἰκονισμένον,
θυμῷ βρέμοντι καὶ λεοντείῳ θράσει
τὴν σὴν καθεῖλον πανσεβάσμιον θέαν

[78] Antony of Novgorod, ed. Loparev, 35 = *Itin. russes*, 108. The reasons for disbelieving Antony's testimony have been stated by me in BZ, XLVII (1954), 396—97. Grabar (*L'iconoclasme byzantin*, 190—92) rejects my arguments and persists in ascribing to Lazarus the apse mosaics of St. Sophia which he dates 843—855. This is, however, directly contradicted by the key document adduced by me, the sermon of Photius delivered on March 29, 867, which certainly pertains to the inauguration of a mural picture of the Virgin in St. Sophia, most probably in the apse, though not perhaps the mosaic that is there today. See my translation of the Homilies of Photius, 279 sq. Grabar's contention that Photius is speaking of a portable icon cannot be sustained.

[79] *Synax. CP*, 231—34.

[80] The title is not given by the Ambrosian ms.

πάλαι γραφεῖσαν σεπτομόρφως ἐνθάδε.
ὧν τὴν ἄθεσμον ἐξελέγξασα πλάνην
ἄνασσα Θεδώρα, πίστεως φύλαξ,
σὺν τοῖς ἑαυτῆς χρυσοπορφύροις κλάδοις
τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς ἄνακτας ἐκμιμουμένη,
ὑπὲρ δὲ πάντας εὐσεβὴς δεδειγμένη,
ταύτην ἀνεστήλωσεν εὐσεβοφρόνως
ἐν τῇ παρούσῃ τῶν ἀνακτόρων πύλῃ
εἰς δόξαν, εἰς ἔπαινος αὐτῆς καὶ κλέος[81],
εἰς εὐπρέπειαν τῆς ὅλης ἐκκλησίας,
εἰς πᾶσαν εὐόδωσιν ἀνθρώπων γένους,
εἰς πτῶσιν ἐχθρῶν δυσμενῶν καὶ βαρβάρων[82].

"Of the Patriarch Methodius on the Image of the Chalkê: Seeing Thy stainless image, O Christ, and Thy cross figured in relief, I worship and reverence Thy true flesh. For, being the Word of the Father, timeless by nature, Thou wast born, mortal by nature and in time, to a mother. Hence in circumscribing and portraying thee in images, I do not circumscribe Thy immaterial nature — for that is above representation and vicissitude — but in representing Thy vulnerable flesh, O Word, I pronounce Thee uncircumscribable as God. Yet the disciples of Manes' teachings, who chatter foolishly in their imaginings to the point of saying ignominiously that the Incarnation (by assuming which Thou hast saved the human race) was but a phantom, enduring not to see Thee portrayed, in roaring anger and leonine insolence[83], cast down Thy most-venerable likeness, formerly portrayed here in holy form. Refuting their lawless error, the empress Theodora, guardian of the faith, with her scions arrayed in purple and gold[84], emulating the pious among the emperors, and shown to be the most pious of them all, has re-erected it with righteous intent at this gate of the palace, to her own glory, praise and

[81] καὶ κλέος, read by the Paris ms, seems preferable to τοῦ κράτους of the Ambrosian ms which constitutes too harsh an asyndeton.

[82] First published by Leo Sternbach in *Eos* (Lwow), IV (1897), 150—51 after the Paris ms. Critical ed. on the basis of both mss by S. G. Mercati in *Bessarione*, XXIV (1920), 192—95, 198—99. Unaware of both previous publications, Sophronios, Metropolitan of Leontopolis, edited the epigram again after the Amrosian ms in Ὀρθοδοξία, IX (1934), 366—67. Reprinted by Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin*, 131.

[83] The usual pun on the name of Leo V.

[84] The young Michael III and his four sisters.

fame, to the dignity of the entire Church, to the full prosperity of the human race, to the fall of malevolent enemies and barbarians."

One may wonder whether an epigram of such length could have been actually inscribed on the façade of the Chalkê. This is not, however, impossible, and Mercati rightly points to the almost equally long poem of Manuel Philes inscribed on the parecclesion of St. Mary Pammacaristos[85].

The inscription of Leo V had been a short iconoclast manifesto; that of Methodius was a full-fledged theological defense of icons which reflects the ideas current during the latter stage of the controversy and shows a close resemblance to certain works of St. Theodore the Studite[86]. Methodius' argument is christological and centres around the notion of circumscription. The iconoclasts (in particular Constantine V) had declared Christ to be ἀπερίγραπτος and therefore incapable of being γραπτός. Methodius does not deny that painting is circumscription, although the Patriarch Nicephorus had drawn a clear distinction between these two terms[87]; instead, he gives the classic answer that Christ as a man was vulnerable, mortal and limited by time, and could therefore be represented and circumscribed, while His divine nature was obviously uncircumscribable. In denying this, the iconoclasts reject the reality of the Incarnation and show themselves to be Manichees. From the second line of the epigram it appears that the cross of the iconoclasts was left to stand over the Chalkê gate. This cross, which was carved in relief (ἐκτύπως), was presumably the one that had been put up by Leo V. It is, however, possible that it dated back to the time of Leo III, although, as has been said above, nothing is known of such an earlier cross, and even if it had existed, it may have been removed by the iconodules

[85] *Manuelis Philae carmina*, ed. E. Miller, I, Paris, 1855, 117—18.

[86] Especially the *Iambi*, nos. 30, 33, 34 (PG 99, 1792—93) and *Epist.*, II, 72 (ibid., 1305A): τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον ἀνειληφέναι τὸν Χριστὸν σῶμα λέγειν Μανιχαίων δοκήσει καὶ φαντασίᾳ τὴν σωτήριον Χριστοῦ οἰκονομίαν φληναφούντων γεγενῆσθαι. Cf. also the office for the Sunday of Orthodoxy (matins): οὐ γὰρ δοκήσει, ὡς φασὶν οἱ θεομάχοι παῖδες τοῦ Μάνεντος ἡμῖν ὤφθης, φιλάνθρωπε, ἀλλ' ἀληθείᾳ καὶ φύσει σαρκός, etc. (*Triodion*, Venice, 1891, 129).

[87] According to P. J. Alexander (*The Patriarch Nicephorus*, 209), "the clear distinction between circumscription and religious art was Nicephorus' own contribution to the doctrine of images."

before 814. The simultaneous veneration of the icon and the cross was, according to Prof. Grabar[88], a characteristic feature of the period immediately following the restoration of Orthodoxy in 843. If this was really so, it may have been a deliberate attempt to counteract the objections aroused by the overhasty removal of crosses prior to the second outbreak of iconoclasm[89]; or it may have been a concession to the still powerful iconoclast party. Note, however, that Methodius, for all his moderation in other respects, was uncompromising in his rejection of the iconoclasts[90], and he certainly showed no *oikonomia* in calling them Manichees and foolish chatterers in the epigram under discussion.

Another conclusion that may be drawn from Methodius' epigram is that the Chalkê image was restored before the patriarch's death on June 14, 847. This fact is more significant than may appear at first glance. It is commonly assumed that the *anastêlosis* of icons began immediately after the festival service in St. Sophia on March 11, 843, and that the Feast of Orthodoxy was instituted then and there. Actually, however, the process of restoration appears to have been rather slow. The earliest monetary issues of Theodora do not have any sacred portraits on them. This applies to the solidus having Theodora's portrait on the obverse and the young Michael and Thecla on the reverse[91], and to the silver *miliarêsion*, probably a little later in date, with a cross on the obverse and a legend on the reverse[92]. The latter represents a type that lasted into the tenth century, but is in no way different from iconoclast issues. The icon of Christ first

[88] *L'iconoclasme byzantin*, 204 sq. Grabar quotes in this connection the prophecy concerning the restoration of icon worship by the monk Isaiah of Nicomedia: παῦσον πάντας τοὺς ἀνιέρους καὶ οὕτως σὺν ἀγγέλοις προσενέγκῃς μοι θυσίαν αἰνέσεως, τῆς ἐμῆς εἰκόνος τὴν μορφὴν μετὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ σεβαζόμενος (*Narratio de Theophili absolutione* in Combefis, *Hist. haer. Monothel.*, 730 B = Regel, *Analecta byzantino-russica*, 26).

[89] See the letter of Michael II and Theophilus to Lewis the Pious (A. D. 824): "Primum quidem honorificas et vivificas cruces de sacris templis expellebant et in eadem loca imagines statuebant," etc. (MGH, *Legum sectio* III, *Concilia*, II 2, 478).

[90] See Grumel, "La politique religieuse du patriarche Saint Méthode," EO, XXXIV (1935), 385 sq., esp. 390—91.

[91] Wroth, *Catal. of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the B. M.*, II, London, 1908, 429—30, pl. XLIX, 14—15; I. I. Tolstoj, *Vizantijskija monety*, IX, Petrograd, 1914, 1055—56, pl. 71, 1—3; Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin*, 186—87, fig. 45.

[92] Wroth, *op. cit.*, II, 431, pl. XLIX, 19; Tolstoj, *op. cit.*, 1058, pl. 72, 13—15; Grabar, *op. cit.*, 187, fig. 49.

appears on solidi which bear on the obverse the busts of Michael and Theodora without Thecla[93] (fig. 20). Here Michael (who was born in 836) appears as a beardless adolescent as high as his mother, so that a date *ca.* 850 may be suggested[94].

The delay in the re-decoration of churches was naturally even longer. Our information on this score is rather fragmentary, but the few dates that we are able to quote are suggestive. The decoration of the Chrysotriclinos with sacred images was carried out after the deposition of Theodora in 856[95]; the mosaics of the palatine church of the Pharos dated from 864[96]; the first important mosaic in the nave of St. Sophia was inaugurated in 867[97] and the decoration of the rest of the cathedral appears to have continued until the end of the ninth century; the monastery of SS. Sergius and Bacchus was re-decorated by the Patriarch Ignatius after 867[98]; the monastery of the Virgin of the Source (τῆς πηγῆς), outside the walls of Constantinople, received its iconographic cycle between 867 and 879[99]. The monastery of the Virgin Hodegetria, re-built by Michael III, must also have had an iconic decoration, but we do not know its date, although it was probably after 856, since there is no mention of Theodora's participation in the re-building[100]. The church of the Holy Apostles, consolidated by Basil I, may have received at that time some, if not all of the mosaics described by Constantine Rhodius. We may also note in passing that the Feast of Orthodoxy does

[93] Wroth, *op. cit.*, II, 430, pl. XLIX, 16; Tolstoj, *op. cit.*, 1056, pl. 71, 4—6; 72, 7; Grabar, *op. cit.*, 187, fig. 46.

[94] Wroth, *op. cit.*, II, 430 and n. 1 suggests *ca.* 852 on the mistaken assumption that Michael was born in 839.

[95] *Anthol. Palat.*, I, 106, 107. Cf. P. Waltz, "Epigrammes chrétiennes de l'Anthologie grecque," *Byzantion*, II (1926), 320—23.

[96] R. J. H. Jenkins and C. Mango, "The Date and Significance of the Tenth Homily of Photius," DOP, IX—X (1956), 125—40; C. Mango, *The Homilies of Photius*, 177 sq. It is virtually certain that the church described by Photius is the one of the Pharos. Grabar (*L'iconoclasme byzantin*, 183—84) objects to the identification made by Prof. Jenkins and myself, and suggests instead that the Photian homily refers to the monastery of St. Mary Hodegetria. This is, however, quite impossible for the simple reason that the Hodegetria monastery, though not too far from the palace, was never part of it, while the church described by Photius was not only in the palace, but *in the very centre of the palace* (ἐν μέσοις αὐτοῖς ἀνακτόροις).

[97] See my article in BZ, XLVII (1954), 395—402); *The Homilies of Photius*, 279 sq., and n. 78 above.

[98] Cedrenus, II, 238.

[99] *Anthol. Palat.*, I, 109—117 (before the death of Basil's eldest son Constantine); cf. ΜΙΣΝ (M. I. Nomides) Ἡ Ζωοδόχος Πηγή, Istanbul, 1937, 108.

[100] *Patria*, 223.

not appear to have been generally observed in the ninth century, since it is not even commemorated in the *Typicon of the Great Church* (*ca.* 880)[101] and is completely ignored by Photius who evidently regarded the restoration of icon-painting to have been due mainly to his own initiative. In his homily describing the image of the Virgin in St. Sophia (29 March, 867), he exclaims: "If one called this day the beginning and day of Orthodoxy (lest I say something excessive), one would not be far wrong[102]."

When these facts are borne in mind, the restoration of the Chalkê image before 847 acquires its full significance. The icon whose destruction heralded both the first and the second outbreak of iconoclasm, and which had become the visual manifestation of the emperor's religion, was naturally the first one to have been restored after 843. Its symbolical importance clearly appears in the apocryphal story of the absolution of Theophilus which was sometimes read in church on the Sunday of Orthodoxy[103]. The empress Theodora, we are told, entreated the Patriarch Methodius to grant forgiveness to her late husband, and to this end public prayers were held. The empress herself fasted and prayed assiduously and while in this state of contrition she had a vision on Friday of the first week of Lent (i. e. March 9, 843). She saw herself standing in the Forum, by Constantine's column, and a band of men walking noisily down the street, carrying various instruments of torture. They were dragging Theophilus naked, his arms tied behind his back. Theodora recognised her husband and followed the procession weeping bitter tears. When they had come to the Chalkê, she saw a man, awesome of aspect, sitting on a throne in front of the holy image of Our Lord Jesus Christ and, falling at his feet, she begged for Theophilus to be spared.

[101] Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie liturgičeskich rukopisej*, I, 115—16; cf. Krasnosel'cev, "Tipik cerkvi sv. Sofii," *Letopis' Istor.-filol. Obšč. pri Imper. Novoross. Univ., Viz. Otdel.*, I, Odessa, 1892, 223—26. The Feast of Orthodoxy is likewise absent from a later redaction of the same Typicon revised in the reign of Constantine VII (Cod. Hierosol. S. Crucis 40). See Krasnosel'cev, "K izučeniju Tipika Velikoj Cerkvi," *ibid.*, III (1896), 340—44. Grumel's explanation that, "Le silence du Typicon s'explique sans doute par ce fait que la cérémonie nouvelle ne changea rien à la liturgie du jour qui conserva son hymnologie" (*Regestes*, II, 48, n. 418) does not appear to be sufficient.

[102] *The Homilies of Photius*, 291; ed. Aristarches, Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Φωτίου . . . λόγοι καὶ ὁμιλίαι, II, Constantinople, 1900, 300.

[103] Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie*, I, 521 (Synaxarion of the monastery of the Virgin Evergetis, 11th century).

Thereupon, the awesome man uttered these words: "O woman, great is thy faith. Know, therefore, that because of thy tears and thy faith, and also the prayers and imploration of my priests, I forgive thy husband Theophilus." So Theophilus was set free and handed over to Theodora, who at this point awoke[104]. The

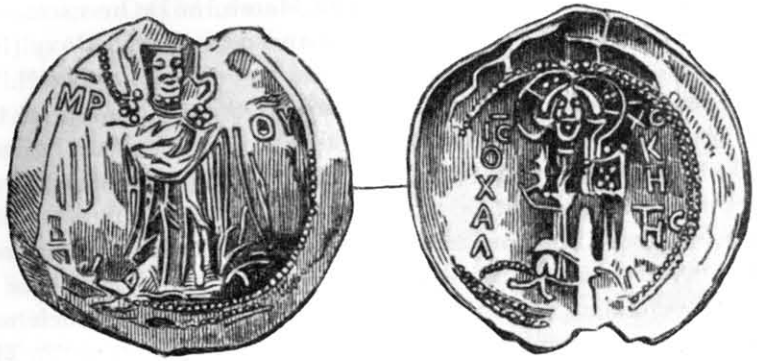

Fig. 17. Medal in the collection of Photiades bey.

story of the flogging administered to the iconoclast emperor in front of the holy image of the Chalkê was still told in the fourteenth century[105].

Later History of the Chalkê Image

Theodora's mosaic seems to have lasted for a long time, but it is difficult to ascertain its later history since a duplicate and perhaps even a triplicate of it make their appearance in the Comnenian and Palaeologan periods. We are told that Alexius I was cured of a grave illness by the application of a veil that hung in front of the Chalkê icon (τὸ θεῖον πέπλον, ὃ πρὸ τῆς εἰκόνος ἠώρηται)[106]. This veil, according to one source, also bore a portrait of Christ[107]. In the reign of Manuel I, this same veil cured the Protostrator Alexius Comnenus (son of the Sebastocrator

[104] Regel, *Analecta byzantino-russica*, 33—35 = Combefis, *Hist. haer. Monothel.*, 734—35. This story appears to involve a slight anachronism, since the image of Christ could hardly have been restored before March 11, 843.

[105] Anonymous Russian pilgrim, 130 in Speranskij's ed. = *Itin. russes*, 228.

[106] Zonaras, III, 751.

[107] Glycas, 623: προσκομίζεται αὐτῷ τὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐκτύπωμα τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Χαλκῆν ἀνεστηλωμένου, ὅπερ ἦν ἐν πέπλῳ τινι πρὸ τῆς εἰκόνος ἀπηωρημένον.

Andronicus Comnenus and grandson of John II)[108], in return for which his grateful wife Maria Doucaena dedicated to the chapel of the Chalkê a hanging of purple cloth embroidered with gold that was also to be suspended in front of the icon (τοῦτον προαρτῶ προσκυνητοῦ σου τύπου | πορφυροϋφῆ χρυσεόστικτον πέπλον)[109].

Fig. 18. Coin of John III Ducas Vatatzes. *After Sabatier.*

Since it is unlikely that the miraculous veil could have hung in the open over the façade of the Chalkê, one may suppose that it protected another image of Christ in the chapel of Our Lord Chalkitês. It may have been this second image that Theodore Ptochoprodromus has in mind in his satirical poem *Against Abbots*, in which, among various other pretexts for going out of his monastery, he has:

> πάτερ, νἀνήβω στὸν Χριστὸν εἰς τὴν Χαλκῆν ἀπάνω
> νἀπομυρίσω ὅτι ἐρυγῶ καὶ τώρα γιὰ ποῦ φθάνω[110].

"Father, let me go up to Christ, above the Chalkê, that I may rub off some holy oil, for I am sick, and I shall be back right

[108] On the Protostrator (later Protosebastus) Alexius Comnenus, see Du Cange, *Familiae augustae byzantinae*, 182.

[109] An epigram commemorating this donation, entitled ἐπὶ πέπλῳ ἀναρτηθέντι εἰς τὸν ἐν τῇ Χαλκῇ ναόν, has been published by Lambros, Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, VIII (1911), 35—36 after Cod. Marc. gr. 524.

[110] Koraes, Ἄτακτα, I, Paris, 1828, 30, verses 462—63 (cf. also pp. 295—98); Legrand, *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire*, I, 69; D. C. Hesseling and H. Pernot, *Poèmes prodromiques en grec vulgaire*, Amsterdam, 1910, 64, apparatus, verses 340c—d. This couplet is not translated by Jeanselme and Oeconomos, "La satire contre les Higoumènes," *Byzantion*, I (1924), 335. The mss read ἐρυγῶ = "to vomit" (cf. *Geoponica*, XVII. 17. 1: πυκνῶς ἐρυγᾶν), which Koraes emends to ῥιγῶ = "to shiver."

away." The verb ἀπομυρίζω meant to wipe an icon or other holy object with a piece of cloth that was used to cure sickness[111].

It was probably this second image rather than Theodora's mosaic that Andronicus I adorned and transferred to the church of the Forty Martyrs in which he intended to be buried[112]. By the fourteenth century it was already a matter of dispute whether the authentic icon, the one that had spoken to Mau-

Fig. 19. Seal of John III Ducas Vatatzes. *After Schlumberger.*

rice, was the one that had remained at the Chalkê or the one that was over the "beautiful door" of the church of the Forty Martyrs and was considered to be a particularly accurate delineation of Christ's features[113]. Stephen of Novgorod (1348/49) saw the icon "which is spoken of in the books", whose gold halo an iconoclast emperor wanted to tear off but was thrown down by St. Theodosia. Unfortunately, Stephen's account is hopelessly confused since he seems to situate the icon in St. Sophia[114]. The anonymous pilgrim says that this image was painted over the western door of the chapel of Christ (at the Chalkê)[115]. But a third "Chalkitês" now makes

[111] See Academy of Athens, Ἱστορικὸν λεξικὸν τῆς νέας ἑλληνικῆς, s. v. ἀπομύρισμα, 3, and *Vita Theophanus*, ed. Kurtz, 22—23: λαβέτω ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων ἐκείνων ναμάτων καθαρώτατον ὕδωρ καὶ ἀπομυρισάτω τὸν τάφον τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς Μεθοδίου.

[112] Nicetas Choniates, 431.

[113] Nicephorus Callistus, *Hist. eccles.*, XVIII. 42, PG 147, 413B.

[114] Speranskij's ed., 51 = *Itin. russes*, 116.

[115] Speranskij's ed., 130 = *Itin. russes*, 228. Cf. below, p. 154 and n. 31.

his appearance, the very same one that had spoken to Maurice, in the Peribleptos monastery[116]. This is the last we hear of our image.

Iconography of Christos Chalkitês

We have just seen that in the later centuries of the Byzantine Empire there were several replicas of the Chalkê icon. A few

Fig. 20. Solidus of Michael III. *Courtesy of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection.*

representations of it have in fact come down to us and present, with a few minor differences, a consistent iconographic type which agrees with our only piece of textual evidence, a variant reading of the *Patria*: ἡ δὲ νῦν προσκυνουμένη εἰκών . . . ἡ διὰ ψηφίδος ὄρθιος[117], i. e. a mosaic icon of a standing Christ. The following representations of Christos Chalkitês identified by an inscription are known to me:

1. A silver scyphate medallion (12th—13th century), originally in the possession of Photiades Bey, Ottoman ambassador at Athens (fig. 17). On one side is a standing Virgin of the Hodegetria type, on the other Christ standing on a footstool. He is wearing a nimbus cruciger and holding a closed book of Gospels in his

[116] Anonymous pilgrim, ed. Speranskij, 136 = *Itin. russes*, 231. In the latter, however, owing to a break in the original text, the image has been relegated to the monastery of Christ Philanthropos. Ignatius of Smolensk also saw the image in the Peribleptos monastery, and adds that many relics were encrusted in it (ed. Arsen'ev, *Pravoslavnyj Palastinskij Sbornik*, no. 12, 10 = *Itin. russes*, 139).

[117] II, 219.

left hand. The right hand, centred on the breast, is blessing. Inscription in two vertical columns: ΙC/XC/ΟΧΑΛ/ΚΗΤΗC[118].

2. Silver coin of John III Vatatzes, emperor of Nicaea (1222—1254). On the obverse is the emperor, holding a labarum in his right hand and a globus cruciger in his left, crowned by the Chalkê Christ who is standing on the left. The same characteristics

Fig. 21. Seal of John III Ducas Vatatzes in the Whittemore Collection, Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass. *Courtesy of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection.*

recur: footstool, nimbus cruciger, closed book of Gospels in the left hand. The right hand is not blessing since it is holding the emperor's crown. The legend usually runs ΙC—XC ΧΛΛΚΙΤΙC[119].

3. A bronze scyphate coin of the same emperor (fig. 18). On the reverse, Christ standing on a circular footstool, holding a closed book of Gospels in his left hand. The right hand emerges in blessing from a sharply projecting "sling". The whole body seems to be moving to the right. Legend in two vertical columns: ΙC/XC/Χ(Α)Λ/ΚΙΤΗ(C)[120].

4. Lead seal of the same emperor. Two slightly different specimens have survived, one in the Schlumberger collection (fig. 19), the other in the Whittemore collection, now at the Fogg

[118] First mentioned by Albert Dumont in *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 1867, 253—55. Published by him in *Revue numismatique*, XII (1867), 195—200, and in *Bull. de l'Ecole française d'Athènes*, 1868, 58—64 (without illustration). Both articles reprinted in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'épigraphie*, ed. Th. Homolle, Paris, 1892, 597—606. Summarised by Leclereq, DACL, VII 2, 2449—53. Dumont wonders about "l'origine de ce nom bizarre de χαλκήτης que les byzantins expliquent avec trop de facilité," and suspects that it may conceal "un reste presque effacé des cultes antiques" (!).

[119] Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths and Lombards in the British Museum*, 1911, 216—17, nos. 26—29 and pl. XXX, 2—5.

[120] *Ibid.*, 217, no. 30 and pl. XXX, 6; Sabatier, *Description générale des monnaies byzantines*, II, pl. LXIV, 10.

Museum, Cambridge, Mass. (fig. 21) On the obverse John III Vatatzes standing on a footstool, holding globus gruciger and a sceptre surmounted by a cross. Legend: Ιω ΔΕCΠΟΤΗC Ο ΔΟΥΚΑC. On the reverse, standing Christ of the same type as the foregoing, crudely executed. Legend: ΙC/XC/ΟΧΑΛ/ΚΙΤΗC[121].

Fig. 22. Seal of John Pantechnes. *Courtesy of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection.*

5. Lead seal of John Pantechnes (11th—12th century) in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (fig. 22). On the obverse, standing Christ of the same type, except that the blessing hand is held in front of the breast. Legend: ΙC/XC/ΟΧΑΛ/ΚΙΤΗC. On the reverse a metrical inscription:

Τοῖς Παντέχνη γράμμασι χαριτωνύμου
ὁ κύριος αὐτὸς σφραγὶς ἀσφαλεστάτη,

i. e. "The Lord Himself is the most secure seal for the letters of Pantechnes of the gracious name" (= John)[122]. The owner of

[121] Published by Schlumberger in REG, XIII (1900), 479, where it is incorrectly attributed to Michael VII Ducas. Reverse only reproduced by Schlumberger, *L'épopée byzantine*, I, Paris, 1896, 80. The attribution to John III Vatatzes (now confirmed by the Whittemore seal) was established by Konstantopoulos in *Journal intern. d'archéol. numismatique*, XVI (1914), 28—31. The Whittemore seal, exhibited in Paris in 1931 (Giraudon neg. 31155), does not appear to have been reproduced before.

[122] On the periphrastic use of χαριτώνυμος for John, cf. *Vita Joh. Damasc.*, PG 94, 433A; Theodor. Prodr. in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits*, VIII (1810), 158; Tzetzes, *Epist.* XVI (ed. Pressel, Tübingen, 1851, 19).

this seal was probably the magister John Pantechnes to whom Theophylactus of Bulgaria addressed a letter[123]. Unpublished.

6. Mural painting in the Boiana church in Bulgaria (A. D. 1259). It originally represented a full-length standing Christ, but only half of the head remains, with the inscription (ΙC) ΧC (OXA) ΛbKHTHC[124]. The loss of this painting is very regrettable, since the Boiana church was decorated under direct Constantinopolitan influence, and might have given us a more detailed and faithful representation than the coins and seals.

7. The famous "Deêsis" mosaic in the inner narthex of the monastery of the Chora (Kahriye Djami) (fig. 23). In the course of the recent restoration work carried out by the Byzantine Institute, it was found that the epithet Ο ΧΑΛΚΙΤΗC was preserved on the setting-bed below the initials ΙC ΧC. The composition consists of a colossal standing Christ, dressed in a blue tunic and himation, and on his left the Theotokos in an attitude of intercession. At Mary's feet a small kneeling figure of the Sebastocrator Isaac (b. after 1088, d. shortly after 1152) has been uncovered, accompanied by an inscription. At Christ's feet is another kneeling figure, who has been identified as Maria Palaiologina, natural daughter of Michael VIII, and half-sister of Andronicus II. The fact that she is portrayed as a nun dates the mosaic after 1307, since in that year she was offered as a bride to the Mongol prince Charbandan, though the marriage does not seem to have taken place[125]. Until now the majority of critics regarded this mosaic as a work of the twelfth century[126]. The

[123] *Epist.* 65 (PG 126, 484). We know several other members of the same family: Michael Pantechnes, procdros, personal physician to Alexius I (Anna Comnena, XV. 11. 3; XV. 11. 13; Theophylactus Bulg., *Epist.* 7, 9, 44, 47, 72, 73—75; his seal published by Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, 687); Theodore Pantechnes, prefect of Constantinople (Nicetas Choniates, 306,; several of his seals known: Ἑλληνικά, I (1928), 304—05; Laurent, "Les bulles métriques dans la sigillographie byzantine," *ibid.*, IV (1931), 223 (no. 96); VII (1934), 283 (no. 614); VIII (1935), 49 (no. 682)); Philip Pantechnes: Schlumberger in REG, IX (1891), 139. See also *id.* in *Revue numismatique*, IX (1905), 337—38, no. 248.

[124] A. Grabar, *L'église de Boïana*, Sofia, 1924, 67; *id.*, *La peinture religieuse en Bulgarie*, Paris, 1928, 122—23.

[125] See P. A. Underwood, "The Deisis Mosaic in the Kahrie Cami at Istanbul," *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of A. M. Friend, Jr*, Princeton, 1955, 254—60; *id.* in DOP, IX—X (1956), 295—96, and XII (1958), 284—87.

[126] With the notable exception of Th. Schmit who could not help noticing the obvious stylistic resemblance of this mosaic to the other portraits of Christ in the same church, and concluded that the Deêsis was restored in the 14th century but reproduced a composition of the twelfth (*Kahrie Džami*, Sofia, 1906 [= IRAIK, XI], 217 sq).

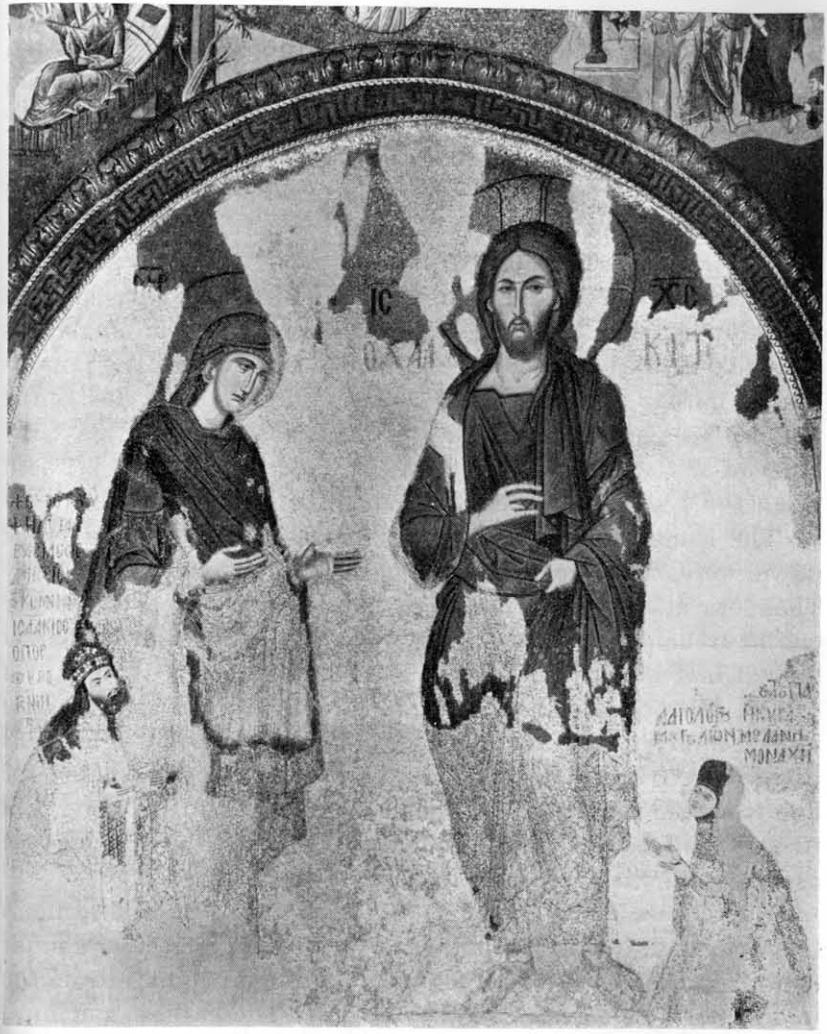

Fig. 23. Deêsis mosaic, Kahriye Djami. *Courtesy of the Byzantine Institute, Inc.*

type of Christ departs somewhat from the foregoing examples in that the book of Gospels is missing. It may be suggested, however, that the mosaicist's model did have a book, as indicated by the anomalous position of the hands. The left hand is represented in the normal manner for holding a closed book, yet it is empty and grasps instead a fold of the himation which is pulled across the waist. The blessing of the right hand seems also to be directed to the book which is not there.

The above monuments present, with a few variations, a fairly consistent type which may be defined as follows. Christ Chalkitês was represented full-length, standing on a footstool. The weight of the body fell on the right leg, while the left was slightly bent. The left hand held a closed book of the Gospels. The blessing right hand is not always in the same position: on the medal of Photiades bey and the Pantechnes seal it is held in front of the breast, while on the other coins and seals it emerges from a projecting sling-like fold of the himation. This discrepancy is probably not significant, and may be illustrated by an analogous case, that of Christ seated on the lyre-backed throne. The famous lunette mosaic over the Imperial Door of St. Sophia has Christ holding his right hand in front of his breast[127], while the same type on the solidi of Basil I, Alexander, Constantine VII and Romanus I shows the blessing hand extended to the right[128].

The iconographic characteristics that I have attempted to set down were, in all probability, those of the mosaic put up by Theodora after 843. Whether this mosaic reproduced the earlier one of Irene, and whether that one in turn was at all similar to the original image which was destroyed by Leo III, cannot, of course, be ascertained. In general, an attempt was made in the ninth century to reproduce ancient models. Thus the gold coins of Michael III (fig. 20) copy the bust of Christ almost line for line from the solidi of Justinian II. It is possible, therefore, that Christ Chalkitês was also intended to conform to the original type as far as it was known at that time.

Our discussion of monetary types has been limited to those that bear the legend "Chalkitês". However, an altogether similar figure of Christ is frequently found on imperial coinage from the middle of the eleventh century onwards. The earliest and most remarkable example of it is on the gold nomisma of Theodora (1055—56)[129]. The same figure also occurs on the bronze of Constantine X[130], of Alexius I[131] and John II[132], the electrum[133] and

[127] So also in the Par. gr. 510, f. 1^{v} (Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens mss grecs de la Bibl. Nationale*, Paris, 1929, pl. XV).

[128] Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the B. M.*, II, pls L, 11—12; LI, 9; LII, 1, 5, 6; LIII, 1.

[129] *Ibid.*, p. 506, nos. 4—5 and pl. LX, 3—4. Wroth incorrectly states that Christ is holding the book with both hands.

[130] *Ibid.*, pl. LXI, 7.

[131] *Ibid.*, pl. LXV, 15.

[132] *Ibid.*, pl. LXVIII, 8—10.

[133] *Ibid.*, pl. LXIX, 10.

the bronze of Manuel I[134], and the gold of Alexius III[135]. It is possible that in all these instances too we have Christ Chalkitês, though the distinguishing inscription is absent. This type of Christ was, of course, a very common one in Byzantine art, either as a solitary figure (e. g. the splendid miniature of the Sinait. 204) or as the central element of the Deêsis (e. g. the Palazzo di Venezia triptych), and it would be foolish to argue that in every case it reproduced the icon of the Chalkê. The custom of inscribing epithets derived from specific icons (e. g. Blachernitissa, Hodegetria, etc., as distinct from such titles as *Rex regnantium*) seems to have become prevalent only in the eleventh century, and even thereafter this was not always done. Consequently, one cannot argue from the relatively late date of the specimens we have discussed that the Chalkitês had not been popular before. The fame of this icon must have certainly increased, however, after the cure of Alexius I, and it may be significant that John Pantechnes, whose seal provides us with our earliest inscribed specimen, was probably related to Michael Pantechnes, personal physician to Alexius I (see n. 123). As for the frequent use of Christos Chalkitês in the thirteenth century, especially by the *émigré* government of Nicaea, this can be explained quite simply. As the guardian of the old imperial palace, the Chalkitês symbolized both the legitimacy of the Nicene emperors and their hope of recovering Constantinople.

The same imperial connotation was probably implied by the Deêsis mosaic of Kahriye Djami. To call it a "Deêsis" is more in conformity with Byzantine than with modern terminology, since it actually belongs to the "ktêtoric" class. Like the "ktêtoric" mosaic of the Martorana or the founder's portrait at Mileševo, it represents the Virgin Mary interceding before Christ on behalf of the "ktêtor", or rather, in this case, a benefactor of the church. The nun Melanê, who is kneeling directly at Christ's feet, must have also conferred some benefit on the monastery of the Chora[136]. Since both benefactors belonged to the imperial family, it is fitting that their supplication should be addressed to an "imperial" Christ. Such an interpretation would be in line with the

[134] *Ibid.*, pl. LXX, 10—11.

[135] *Ibid.*, pl. LXXII, 15—16.

[136] She may have been the Maria Palaiologina who donated a manuscript of the Gospels to the monastery of the Chora (Papageorgiou in BZ, III [1894] 325—29). Cf. Underwood in DOP, XII (1958), 287 n. 50.

snobbery of Theodore Metochites who commissioned the mosaics of the Chora, and who was proudly conscious of his own connection with the ruling dynasty, through the marriage of his daughter to the emperor's nephew[137].

Christos Antiphonêtês

In discussing the destruction of the Chalkê icon by Leo III (pp. 114 sq., above), we have drawn attention to the fact that the alleged Letter of Pope Gregory II confuses this icon with the Antiphonêtês of the Chalkoprateia. Furthermore, we have seen that several manuscripts of the Pope's Letter, amongst them the oldest one, also contain a *narratio* concerning the Antiphonêtês image, which suggests that the confusion is not accidental. But how is this confusion to be explained? Was the text of the Letter altered by some over-zealous member of the Chalkoprateia clergy to endow a miraculous icon of his own church with an interesting history, a "martyrdom", so to speak, at the hands of the iconoclasts? Or was the Chalkê icon also called Antiphonêtês, was it in fact the original Antiphonêtês, so that the identity of epithet might have facilitated the confusion? To my knowledge, no categorical answer can be given to these questions. It may be of some value, however, to lay before the reader what little information is available concerning the Antiphonêtês icon.

In the first place, it must be stressed that the name Antiphonêtês does not mean a "speaking image", as one author has supposed[138], and does not therefore have any connection with the emperor Maurice's vision. It is a legal term meaning "guarantor" or "bondsman". This epithet is explained by the *narratio* that we have just mentioned, a legend that enjoyed immense popularity in the Middle Ages not only in the Greek original, but also in Latin, French, Spanish, Provençal, etc.[139] The story takes place at the time of the emperor Heraclius and concerns the

[137] Metochites' daughter Irene married John Palaeologus, nephew of the emperor Andronicus II. See Sathas, *Bibl. gr. med. aevi*, I, κγ'—κδ'.

[138] Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance*, 57.

[139] See E. Galtier, "Byzantina," *Romania*, XXIX (1900), 501 sq; Erik Boman, *Deux miracles de Gautier de Coinci*, Paris, 1935, vii—lvii; and esp. the excellent study of Nelson and Starr, "The Legend of the Divine Surety and the Jewish Moneylender," *Ann. de l'Inst. de phil. et d'hist. orient. et slaves*, VII (1944), 289—338.

merchant Theodore who is shipwrecked on his homeward journey from Syria and obliged to jettison all his cargo. Returning to Constantinople, he wishes in his despair to become a monk, but is advised to borrow some money and try his luck again. His Christian friends refuse, however, to lend him anything, so he has recourse to the Jew Abraham who expresses willingness to make him a loan provided a surety is found. Again the Christian friends decline, so Theodore takes as his surety the icon of Christ which is at the Tetrastyle, and the transaction is made in front of it. Theodore obtains a loan of fifty pounds of gold and sets out on another journey to Syria, but is again shipwrecked. He returns desperate, but the Jew comforts him and advances to him another fifty pounds of gold in front of the icon. Theodore sails this time to an island in the Atlantic sea where he exchanges his cargo for tin and lead, and receives in addition fifty pounds of gold. The latter he places in a chest which he throws in the sea. Miraculously, it floats over to Constantinople, and Abraham, forewarned in a dream, comes to the shore to collect it. Theodore returns home and finds that the tin and lead he had brought have turned into silver. The legend concludes with Abraham's conversion to Christianity. He builds a chapel at the Tetrastyle which the Patriarch Sergius (610—638) comes to consecrate. Abraham is ordained presbyter and his two sons deacons[140].

The Greek text of this legend which was sometimes read in church on the Feast of Orthodoxy[141] is found in many manuscripts, the earliest being of the 11th century[142]. The Latin translation by Johannes Monachus dates from about the same period. It is generally admitted that the Abraham story was modelled after a similar episode in the *Vita* of John the Almsgiver, Patriarch of Alexandria (609—616). In the latter text the scene is set at Alexandria, and it is the Patriarch who makes repeated loans of

[140] Greek text published by Combefis, *Hist. haer. Monothel.*, 612—644; incomplete reprint by Max Hoferer, *Ioannis monachi Liber de miraculis* (Programm d. K. Studien-Anstalt Aschaffenburg), Würzburg, 1884, 7—41. Annotated Latin translation by H. Matagne, ASS, Oct. vol. XII, 762—69. English adaptation by Sabine Baring Gould, *Historic Oddities and Strange Events, First Series*, London, 1889, 103—120. On other Greek versions of this legend, all unpublished, see BHG, III, 112—13, nos. 8—8 f.

[141] Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie*, I, 521 (Typicon of the monastery of the Virgin Evergetis, eleventh century).

[142] A list of the Greek manuscripts is given by Michael Huber, *Johannes Monachus, Liber de Miraculis*, Heidelberg, 1913, xxv.

money to an ill-starred shipmaster. After suffering two shipwrecks, the merchant undertakes a third expedition at the Patriarch's urging and reaches the British Isles. There he sells half of his cargo of corn for gold and exchanges the other half for tin. Upon his return, he finds the tin turned into finest silver[143].

As suggested by the Bollandist H. Matagne[144], the Abraham story in its present form can hardly be earlier than the beginning of the tenth century, since its opening paragraph seems to pertain to the celebration of the Feast of Orthodoxy. This, however, does not exclude the possibility of an earlier redaction or kernel which has been deduced from the reference to silver with five stamps (ἀργύριον πρώτιστον τὸ καλούμενον πεντασφράγιστον), a description that applies to Byzantine silver of the sixth and early seventh century[145]. But no matter what the date of the *narratio* may be, there is a striking inconsistency between the title, Διήγησις ψυχωφελὴς περὶ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου εἰκόνος τῶν Χαλκοπρατείων, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἐκλήθη Ἀντιφωνητής, and the text which makes no reference whatever to the Chalkoprateia, but instead places the miraculous image in a domed structure called the Tetrastyle which is described as follows: "He [Constantine the Great] built in the middle of this great city a domed tetrastyle (τετράστυλον ἡμισφαίριον) roofed over with bronze tiles, and ordered that within it should be placed the victorious sign of the cross. To the east of this he made and set up a venerable icon of the Lord's likeness that it might be seen and adored by all the faithful. This most-holy image, famous and celebrated from that time onward, has lasted down to our day, glorified by miracles and healings, and piously honoured by all[146]." The *narratio* gives no other information regarding the Tetrastyle, and mentions only two other monuments of Constantinople, the church of the

[143] *Vita* by Leontius, ed. H. Gelzer, *Leontios' von Neapolis Leben des Heiligen Johannes des Barmherzigen*, Freiburg i. B. and Leipzig, 1893, 18—20. Conflated *Vita*, ed. Delehaye, "Une Vie inédite de S. Jean l'Aumonier," *Anal. Boll.*, XLV (1927), 30—33. English trans. by E. Dawes and N. H. Baynes, *Three Byzantine Saints*, Oxford, 1948, 216–18. Metaphrastian *Vita*, PG 114, 908—12. Cf. Nelson and Starr, *op. cit.*, 304—05; R. S. Lopez, "Relations anglo-byzantines du VII[e] au X[e] siècle," *Byzantion*, XVIII (1948), 145—46.

[144] ASS, Oct. vol. XII, 760—61.

[145] Combefis, *op. cit.*, 641A. Cf. J. I. Smirnov in *Zapiski Imp. Russk. Archeol. Obščestva*, N. S., XII 3—4 (1901), 507; Marc Rosenberg, *Der Goldschmiede Merkzeichen*, 3rd ed., IV, Berlin, 1928, 615; Matzulewitsch, *Byzantinische Antike*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1929, 1 sq.; Kitzinger in DOP, VIII (1954), 102, n. 63.

[146] Combefis, *op. cit.*, 613E—616A.

Blachernae and the cathedral of St. Sophia. Concerning the latter it reports that all the silverwork decorating the bêma and the ambo was donated by the merchant Theodore[147], a statement that casts grave doubt on the reliability of the *narratio* in matters of local history. The Tetrastyle does not appear to fit anything we know of the basilical Chalkoprateia church or its dependencies. Most scholars, starting with Combefis[148] and Du Cange[149], have identified the Tetrastyle with the Chalkê, and the Antiphonêtês with the image that had spoken to Maurice[150]. In favour of this view it may be argued that Justinian's Chalkê could be termed a domed tetrastyle and that it was, of course, roofed with bronze tiles. On the other hand, neither the presence of a Constantinian cross nor Abraham's adjoining chapel accords with the Chalkê. Hence, I am inclined to doubt that the Tetrastyle was the Chalkê, although I am unable to identify it with any other known monument. One may think of the Milion which had a Constantinian cross[151] or possibly of the Chalkoun Tetrapylon near the Forum Tauri. Several instances of icons placed in Tetrapyla are known[152]. Note also that the Synaxaria of Constantinople do not say anything about the merchant Theodore, Abraham the usurer, the Tetrastyle or the Antiphonêtês icon.

If the Tetrastyle was not at the Chalkoprateia, it must be deduced that the title of the *narratio* is a later addition, but that it had certainly been appended by the tenth century, since it figures in all the Greek manuscripts as well as in the Latin translation by Johannes Monachus[153]. Hence the Antiphonêtês,

[147] *Ibid.*, 641B.

[148] *Ibid.*, 643 sq.

[149] *Constantinopolis christiana*, lib. II, 116.

[150] Nelson and Starr, *op. cit.*, 312—13, in their otherwise excellent study, commit a quadruple confusion by rolling into one the Antiphonêtês, the icon of the Chalkê, the icon of Christ the "Intermediary" (μεσίτης) at the Holy Well of St. Sophia (see above, p. 62) and the icon which the patriarch Germanus sent to Rome (see above, p. 119).

[151] *Parastaseis*, 38 = *Patria*, 166. Another Constantinian cross was at the Forum, *Parastaseis*, 31 = *Patria*, 160.

[152] There was an image of Christ in the Tetrapylon of Alexandria (*SS. Cyri et Ioannis miracula*, PG 87 ter, 3560C). In the Tertapylon of Caesarea there was an image of St. Anastasius the Persian (H. Usener, *Acta martyris Anastasii Persae*, Bonn, 1894, 23). Cf. Kitzinger, *op. cit.*, 111.

[153] M. Huber, *op. cit.*, 3: "Incipit historia de imagine domini nostri Ihesu Christi, que est in calcho precisa in loco illo qui pro causa cognominatur Antyphontis, id est mediator." The strange words "calcho precisa" are certainly a corruption of Chalkoprateia.

whatever its earlier location, was at the Chalkoprateia in the tenth century and possibly even prior to that, since Pope Gregory's Letter is usually held to be not later than the middle of the ninth century[154]. The Antiphonêtês remained in the Chalkoprateia until the Latin conquest, and was seen in the chapel of the Soros by Antony of Novgorod[155]. The anonymous English pilgrim of *ca.* 1190 says of the Chalkoprateia church: "In ipsa ergo ecclesia sunt ecclesiae tres; una Christi, alia sancte Marie et alia sancti Iacobi fratris Domini . . . In ecclesia autem Salvatoris est imago eius supra in altare commissa et in ipsa imagine Christi factum est magnum miraculum in tempore Heraclii imperatoris[156]." And he proceeds to tell the Abraham and Theodore story *in extenso.* The chapel of Christ at the Chalkoprateia is not otherwise known.

The empress Zoe († 1050) had a particular devotion to Christ Antiphonêtês. Psellus, under the heading περὶ τοῦ Ἀντιφωνητοῦ, relates that she had a sumptuous icon of Christ which by slight changes of colour forewarned her of the future: when the Lord's face appeared pale, that portended a disaster, when it looked rosy, that was a good omen[157]. Zoe also built a church of Christ Antiphonêtês in which she was buried[158]. Whether this was the same as the chapel mentioned by the English pilgrim, it is difficult to tell. Janin believes that Zoe's church was near the Golden Horn because towards the end of the twelfth century we hear of a cistern τοῦ Ἀντιφωνητοῦ situated in the Genoese quarter[159]. This would accord with the anonymous Russian pilgrim who says that Christ the Guarantor (*Poručnoj Spas*) was painted on the city wall close to the spot where one crossed over to Galata[160].

As an iconographic type, Christos Antiphonêtês appears to have been exceedingly rare, and I am acquainted with only two pictures that are identified by that epithet[161]. The more important

[154] Cf. Hefele-Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles*, III 2, 663 n.

[155] Ed. Loparev, 21 = *Itin. russes*, 99.

[156] S. G. Mercati, "Santuari e reliquie Constantinopolitane," Pontif. Accad. Rom. di Archeol., *Rendiconti*, XII (1936), 144—45.

[157] *Chronogr.*, I, 149—50.

[158] Sathas, *Bibl. gr. med. aevi*, VII, 163.

[159] Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, III, 28, 32, 57; Janin, *Eglises et monastères*, 521.

[160] Ed. Speranskij, 137; *Itin. russes*, 233.

[161] I do not know what basis there is for the assertion that the Antiphonêtês was a bust of Christ, a variant of the Pantocrator. So G. Soteriou, Ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ, Athens, 1914, 50 n. 3; O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*,

Fig. 24. Christos Antiphonêtês. Mosaic in the Dormition church at Nicaea (destroyed). *After Th. Schmit.*

of the two was a mosaic icon in the nave of the Dormition church at Nicaea, now destroyed (fig. 24). Christ was shown standing full-length, wearing a gold tunic and blue himation, holding a closed book of Gospels in his left hand and blessing with the right, a type that corresponds fairly closely to that of the Chalkitês. In the field was an inscription in two vertical columns $\overline{IC}/\overline{XC}/$ OANTI/ΦΩNITHC[162]. The date of this mosaic is said to be of the tenth or eleventh century; in fact, it is most likely that it was contemporary with the narthex mosaics of the same church, usually dated 1025—28[163]. I hope to show elsewhere that the narthex mosaics were actually made about forty years later, which in turn suggests that the mosaic of the Antiphonêtês may have been inspired by the cult of this icon on the part of the empress Zoe.

The second example is completely different in iconography, and probably of little consequence. It is a fresco of the fourteenth or fifteenth century on the south-east pier of the nave in the church of St. Demetrius at Salonica. Christ, is shown seated on a throne, holding an open book of Gospels in his left hand and blessing with his right[164].

The reader may judge on the basis of the above evidence whether the icon of Christos Antiphonêtês had any connection with that of Christos Chalkitês. My own tentative conclusion is that the two were quite distinct.

London, 1949, 306. The epithet Antiphonêtês is not listed among the names of Christ in the *Painter's Guide* (Denys de Fourna, *Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne*, ed. Papadopoulo-Kérameus, St. Petersburg, 1909, 227, 281).

[162] Th. Schmit, *Die Koimesis-Kirche von Nikaia*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1927, 46—47 and pl. XXVII.

[163] Cf. V. N. Lazarev, *Istorija vizantijskoj živopisi*, Moscow, 1947, I, 307, n. 47.

[164] Cf. G. A. and M. G. Soteriou, Ἡ βασιλικὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης, Athens, 1952, 209 (not illustrated).

Chapter V

The Chapel of Our Lord

According to the *Patria*, Romanus I Lecapenus (919—944) built at the Chalkê a small chapel of the Saviour, the roof of which was supported on two pillars[1]. In another passage of the same work we are told that Romanus I moved to the Chalkê, i. e. probably to this chapel, two *columnae historiatae* (κίονας ἐνζώδους) belonging to a set of ten that had been brought over from Thessalonica by Anastasius I[2]. Whether these were the two columns that supported the roof of the chapel is not made clear.

In March 971 John I Tzimiskes stopped at this chapel to offer up his prayers as he was setting out on an expedition to Bulgaria directed against the Russian Prince Sviatoslav. "When he saw this narrow chapel," writes Leo the Deacon, "hardly capable of holding fifteen persons, having a tortuous and inaccessible way up (ἄνοδον), like some winding maze or hiding-place," he ordered it to be completely rebuilt according to a spacious plan of his own composition[3]. The materials, we are told, were obtained by demolishing the bath of the Oikonomeion which was in the palace[4]. John Tzimiskes spared no cost in embellishing and enriching this church which he evidently considered as a kind of personal monument. He endowed it with votive crowns

[1] 282. The Greek text is badly disturbed: τὴν δὲ Χαλκῆν τὸν Σωτῆρα ἀνήγειρεν Ῥωμανὸς ὁ γέρων ὑπὸ στυρακίων μικρῶν πάνυ, ὥς ἐστιν ὁρώμενον τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ποιήσας καὶ δώδεκα [variant δύο] κληρικούς. Preger corrects μικρῶν to μικρόν, which gives tolerable sense ("tam parvum quam parvum videmus sanctuarium, sc. novae ecclesiae"), but it is still rather strange Greek.

[2] *Patria*, 232, § 40.

[3] Leo Diaconus, 128—29. Cf. Zonaras, III, 536; Sathas, *Bibl. gr. med. aevi*, VII, 157; Ephraem, verses 2871—72.

[4] *Patria*, 145.

(στέμματα)[5], sceptres, plate, candelabra of gold and silver, sacerdotal and imperial vestments, as well as real estate for its revenue. The original clergy of two[6] was raised to fifty (or thirty six, according to a variant reading), each with a salary of 30 gold *nomismata*. He deposited there two precious relics, the hair of St. John the Baptist[7] and the Berytus icon, both acquired during the victorious campaign of 975.

John Tzimiskes himself in his letter to Ashot III, King of Armenia (which is preserved in the Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa), mentions the discovery of these relics at Gabaon (Gabala), a town on the Phoenician coast, south of Laodicea. "In that town Gabaon," he writes, "we found the holy sandal of Christ, our Lord, in which He walked abroad during His earthly life, and the picture of the Saviour which the Jews later stabbed, and there flowed therefrom blood and water. The traces of the spear are not visible on the picture. At the same place we found the precious hair of the Forerunner, John the Baptist, and we brought it with us for safe keeping in our city guarded by God[8]." Leo the Deacon, on the other hand, asserts, apparently by mistake[9], that the hair of St. John the Baptist was discovered, along with Christ's sandals, at Membidj (Hierapolis), a fort in Euphratesia, and the image at Berytus[10]. The *Patria* is wrong in stating that Christ's sandals were placed in the Chalkê chapel in a golden reliquary[11], since Leo the Deacon, a more trustworthy source,

[5] On votive crowns in churches see Ebersolt, *Les arts somptuaires de Byzance*, Paris, 1923, 32.

[6] Rather than twelve, a figure which seems too high for such a tiny chapel. I would suggest that the original text was as follows: καὶ δέδωκεν [attested by cod. J, corrupted to δώδεκα] κληρικοὺς δύο (*Patria*, 282, apparatus).

[7] The hair of St. John the Baptist was distributed among several shrines. Part of it was preserved in the Chalkoprateia *Soros*, where it is said to have been placed by Justin II (*Patria*, 263, § 148). Another portion was seen by Antony of Novgorod at the Blachernae church, sealed up in an icon (Loparev's ed., 22 = *Itin. russes*, 100). A lock of the same hair with clotted blood was brought from Syria by Nicephorus Phocas in 968 (Cedrenus, II, 364). A particle of it was contained in the Limburg reliquary (Ernst aus'm Weerth, *Das Siegeskreuz der byz. Kaiser Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus und Romanus II*, Bonn, 1866, 9) as well as in an *encolpion* described by Manuel Philes (*Carmina*, ed. E. Miller, II, Paris, 1857, 164—65).

[8] Kučuk-Ioannesov, "Pis'mo Ioanna Cimischija k Ašotu III," *Viz. Vrem.*, X (1903), 101; Schlumberger, *L'épopée byzantine*, I, 290. Cf. Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance*, 20—21. On this document see N. Adontz, "Notes arméno-byzantines," *Byzantion*, IX (1934), 371—77.

[9] See E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byz. Reiches*, Brussels, 1935, 100 n. 13.

[10] 165—66.

[11] 282—83.

says that they were given to the palatine chapel of Our Lady of the Pharos[12], and they were, in fact, kept there at a later date[13].

The "Berytus icon" deposited at the Chalkê was a Crucifixion[14], and does not appear, therefore, to have been the same as the original Berytus image, which is the subject of a *narratio* falsely attributed to St. Athanasius[15], since the latter is described as a full-length portrait of Christ[16]. The assault upon the image, followed by the miraculous bleeding, is said to have occurred in 765[17]. The blood that was collected from the image was brought from Syria to Constantinople by Nicephorus Phocas in 962 and deposited in the church of All Saints[18]. It was conveyed to Venice after 1204, miraculously survived the fire in St. Mark's treasury in 1231[19], and is still preserved there in a Byzantine reliquary shaped like a five-domed church[20]. The icon, on the other hand,

[12] *Loc. cit.*

[13] Nikolaos Mesarites, *Palastrevolution*, 31.

[14] Leo Diaconus, 166: τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐν εἰκόνι σταύρωσιν. Cf. *Patria*, 282, where the text should read τήν τε τιμίαν σταύρωσιν τῆς ἁγίας εἰκόνος τῆς Βηρυτοῦ (cf. apparatus), and not τήν τε τιμίαν σταύρωσιν, τὴν ἁγίαν εἰκόνα τῆς Βηρυτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἅγια σανδάλια, as printed by Preger, since the Crucifixion and the Berytus image were one and the same.

[15] Mansi, XIII, 24—32; PG 28, 797—812; BHG nos. 780—89 (vol. III, 108—10). List of Greek mss given by Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 281** n. 2. On the Berytus image see Galtier, "Byzantina," *Romania*, XXIX (1900), 513—17; Frolow, "Le *Znamenie* de Novgorod," *Rev. des ét. slaves*, XXV (1949), 47 n. 4; Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm," DOP, VIII (1954), 101 n. 59.

[16] Mansi, XIII, 25B: ἐν σανίσι μὲν ἦν ἐξωγραφημένη, ὁλόστατον δὲ ἔχουσα τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν. All the published recensions seem to agree on this point, except one, cast in the form of a sermon (BHG 786), which specifically represents the icon as a Crucifixion (Dobschütz, "Eine Fastenpredigt über das Christusbild von Beryt," *Zeitschrift für wiss. Theologie*, XLV [1902] 382—83). A related Syriac text tells that in the reign of Zeno (474—91) the Jews of Tiberias commissioned a painter to make a likeness of Christ which they then pierced with a spear, whereupon blood and water gushed out of the wound and were collected in a horn. Christ was painted "upon a large panel of wood, hanging upon the cross, and clothed in purple apparel, and having the crown of thorns upon His head." This image, however, was snatched up to heaven by an angel, "and no man hath ever seen it since." (E. A. Wallis Budge, *The History of the B. V. Mary and the History of the Likeness of Christ*, London, 1899, II, 185, 200).

[17] Sigebertus Gemblacensis, PL 160, 145.

[18] Lambecius, *Comment. de Aug. Bibl. Caes. Vind.*, I, Vienna, 1665, 131; Du Cange, *CP Christiana*, lib. IV, 131.

[19] Riant, *Exuviae sacrae CPanae*, II, 269—70.

[20] Ant. Pasini, *Il tesoro di S. Marco in Venezia*, Venice, 1886, 25—26 and pls. XXIV, XXVIII no. 36. Another portion of the same blood was in Rome (Riant, *op. cit.*, II, 6), a third portion in the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris (*ibid.*, 48, 134), and yet another portion is mentioned in the early 15th century in the church of St. John in Petra at Constantinople (Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlane*, trans. Guy Le Strange, London, 1928, 81).

does not figure among the relics looted by the Crusaders and disappears altogether from view.

When he felt his end approaching, Tzimiskes made haste to complete the sarcophagus of embossed gold inlaid with enamel that he had prepared for himself in the narthex of the Chalkê church[21]. He was duly buried there in January 976[22].

This splendid church, with its imperial sarcophagus, its gold candelabra and crowns, may be visualized, in accordance with the prevailing architectural formula of that time, as a moderately-sized cross-in-square structure with a dome supported on a high drum. For some reason unknown to the canonist Balsamon, the laity was allowed to enter the sanctuary, which was also the case in the church of Our Lady Hodegetria[23].

We have seen that the original chapel of Romanus Lecapenus was reached by a spiral staircase (ἑλικοειδῆ λαβύρινθον). It therefore stood on a raised platform, since the ground is nearly level in that area. The elevated position of Tzimiskes' church is confirmed by other sources. Cedrenus says that it stood "above the arch of the Chalkê" (ἄνωθεν τῆς ἀψῖδος τῆς Χαλκῆς)[24]. Whether this was the arch formed by the main door of the Chalkê or the *apsis* decorated with Gorgons' heads and statues of horses[25] (see above, p. 100) is not, unfortunately, made clear. In front of the church was an atrium or terrace that overlooked the street. It was there that Constantine IX seated himself in great pomp between the empresses Zoe and Theodora, ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὴν ἀγορὰν[26] ἐπεστραμμένῳ προτεμενίσματι τοῦ ἐν τῇ Χαλκῇ λεγομένῃ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ναοῦ[27], to watch the military triumph that he was celebrating over

[21] *Patria*, 283, apparatus: ὁλόχρυσον μετὰ χυμεύσεως καὶ ἐγκαύσεως χρυσοχικῆς (sic) ἐντέχνου ἄνωθεν τῆς ἔξωθεν φλοιᾶς (i. e. φλιᾶς).

[22] Leo Diaconus, 177—78.

[23] Rallês and Potlês, Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων, II, 466—67; PG 137, 752 (incomplete text). Cf. Gedeon, Βυζαντινὸν ἑορτολόγιον, 26.

[24] II, 413. This statement should not, in my opinion, be construed to mean that the church was placed directly over the Chalkê gate, like the mediaeval gate-chapels of Germany and Russia (e. g. Lorsch and the Golden Gate of Kiev). Such an arrangement would have been inconsistent with the architectural form of the Chalkê as described by Procopius, and could not be reconciled with the accounts of the seventeenth and eighteenth century travellers if, as I believe, these refer to the Chalkê church (see below).

[25] *Patria*, $165_{5,17}$.

[26] That ἀγορά was often synonymous with μέση has been shown by Guilland in *Actes du VI^e Congrès intern. d'études byz.*, II, 1951, 177—81.

[27] Zonaras, III, 623. Cf. Psellus, *Chronogr.*, II, p. 7: προὐκάθητο τῆς οὕτως λεγομένης Χαλκῆς φυλακῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ θείου τεμένους, ὃ ὁ μέγας ἐν βασιλεῦσιν Ἰωάννης . . . ἐδείματο.

the rebel Maniakes (1043). That the atrium of the church was a convenient vantage point for watching a procession marching down the Mesê is a topographical indication of some significance.

A year later, on March 9, 1044, Constantine IX went out of the palace on foot and was about to mount his horse in front

Fig. 25. Miniature from the Chronicle of Skylitzes. Constantine IX assailed by the populace. *Bibl. Nacional, Madrid.*

of the church of Our Saviour in order to go the church of the Forty Martyrs, when the crowd started shouting, "We don't want Sklêraina[28] for queen, and it is not for her that our mothers born in the purple, Zoe and Theodora, are going to die!" There was a sudden rush on the emperor and great slaughter would have followed, had not the two empresses appeared above (προκύψασαι ἄνωθεν) and calmed the crowd[29]. This incident is illustrated in the Madrid manuscript of Skylitzes, fol. 227^{v} (fig. 25). The empresses are shown on a high terrace (the atrium of the church?) behind a balustrade. To the right we see a tall door which must be the bronze door of the Chalkê. At the back is a

[28] Constantine's mistress.
[29] Cedrenus, II, 555—56; Glycas, 595—96.

gable roof covered with tiles which may denote the church of Our Lord. As has been said above (pp. 105 sq.), the Skylitzes miniatures are a most unreliable guide to the architectural form of buildings, and I do not wish to draw any specific conclusion from this representation. At the most, the artist may have correctly rendered the general relationship of the atrium to the bronze door if, as I believe, the chapel of Christ appeared on the left when one faced the Chalkê.

After his coronation in 1183, Andronicus I Comnenus passed through the Chalkê church of Christ on his way from St. Sophia to the palace. He did not proceed in the slow manner that was customary for the coronation ceremony, but gave free rein to his steed, either through fear or, as some hinted, for an indelicate reason that is explained in the apparatus of the Bonn edition[30].

The anonymous Russian pilgrim (1390), after leaving St. Sophia by the south door and seeing Justinian's pillar on his right, went out "the south gate of the great enclosure of St. Sophia" (*iz velikago oklada svjatya Sofei iz vorot poludennych*), i. e. the Augustaion, and found the church of the Saviour on his *left-hand* side. Over the western door of that church was painted[31] the image of Christ which an infidel emperor wanted to destroy. There follows the story of St. Theodosia and her martyrdom. That same image, not suffering to be insulted by heretics, had the emperor fetched by angels and beaten thoroughly until he was converted (cf. above, p. 132). On the feast of that church the whole city and even the Latins of Galata used to gather there, and many infirm persons used to be healed[32].

In 1400 a patriarchal document mentions a *metochion* (i. e. a religious establishment owned by another church or monastery) of Christ Chalkitês situated at Galata[33].

The church of Our Saviour did not disappear with the Turkish conquest. It lasted, as I hope to show, until 1804, and was visited by many European travellers, whose accounts throw much light on its situation, architecture and decoration. The publication of

[30] Nicetas Choniates, 353; Sathas, *Bibl. gr. med. aevi*, VII, 333.

[31] Not "suspended," as translated by M^me^ de Khitrowo, *Itin. russes*, 228. The *Beseda o Caregrade* (ed. Majkov, 16) says simply: "on the wall, over the western doors is an icon" (*est' obraz*).

[32] Speranskij's ed., 130—31; *Itin. russes*, 228.

[33] Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca*, II, 429. Cf. Pargoire, "Hieria," IRAIK, IV 2 (1899), 47.

Turkish documents which lie forgotten by the thousand in the archives of Istanbul may one day provide further information concerning the history of this monument, but there is enough evidence available to establish certain facts. At the north-west end of the Hippodrome, close to the palace of Ibrahim Pasha, the favourite of Sultan Suleiman I, and the little mosque of Firuz Ağa, a menagerie was set up by the early sultans in a building which, according to almost unanimous tradition, was the church of St. John the Evangelist. The first mention of it I can find is of the year 1499. Damaged by the earthquake of September 10, 1509[34], it nevertheless continued to house wild beasts, and was visited by many travellers. I have identified this church with St. John of the Diippion[35]. It appears that at the beginning of the seventeenth century the menagerie was moved to another disused Byzantine church, roughly half-way between St. Sophia and the Sultan Ahmet mosque, close to the no longer extant Djebehane (barracks of the armourers) and the Turkish bath that is still standing. I believe that the second menagerie was the church of Christ Chalkitês, as will be shown hereafter. It is a curious coincidence to find two menageries so close together, both converted from Byzantine churches, and this fact complicates even further the confusion that prevailed after the Turkish conquest about the names of ancient monuments. The indifference of the local Greek population to their traditions is attested at that time by Gyllius[36], and it may be shown by many examples that the

[34] Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς, I (1917), 419.

[35] REB, VIII (1951), 158 sq. In a short review of my article (BZ, XLV [1952], 213) A. M. Schneider rightly pointed out that I had neglected to take into account the drawing in E. H. Freshfield's album (published in *A Letter to the Rt. Hon. Lord Aldenham upon the Subject of a Byzantine Evangelion*, London, 1900, and in BZ, XXX [1930], 519—22 and pl. II). This drawing, made in 1574, shows the Hippodrome, St. Sophia and an ancient building of confused shape over which is written: "Pars Aedifiicii S. Sophiae, ubi nunc leones servantur ad Hippodromi latus Septentrionale." The perspective of this drawing is, unfortunately, very faulty and does not enable us to locate exactly this ancient building which is presumably the menagerie at the entrance of the Hippodrome. On the Turkish miniature of 1537—38 (fig. 34) a building of somewhat similar appearance is shown to the left of the Firuz Ağa mosque, between the Hippodrome and St. Sophia. Two other drawings in Freshfield's album (pp. 17, 18) portray animals of the menagerie.

[36] *De topographia Constantinopoleos*, lib. II, cap. 1: "Illorum (sc. Graecorum) enim nemo jam reperitur, qui ubinam essent vestigia antiquorum monumentorum sciat, aut scire curet, ut ne sacerdotes quidem ulli recognoscant loca, ubi paucis ante annis aedes sacrae deletae sunt, & valde mirentur si quis talia inquirat." An even harsher judgment is made by G. Dousa, *De itinere Constantinopolitano epistola*, Leyden, 1590, 41.

original name of a church was apt to be forgotten, and a different one quoted to visiting foreigners. This point must be borne in mind in appraising the travellers' accounts that follow.

The chain of evidence that I have attempted to piece together does not seem to begin until the seventeenth century[37]. It is possible, indeed likely, that I have missed many relevant accounts, but when one is dealing with a body of literature as extensive and as scattered as travellers' descriptions of Constantinople, completeness is practically unattainable.

In 1630—31 Constantinople was visited by a group of travellers, Fermanel, Fauvel, de Launay and de Stochove. This is what they have to say of the menagerie:

"Il y a un lieu sous terre proche de Sainte Sophie, où les Turcs gardent plusieurs bêtes: nous y entrâmes avec des pieces de bois de sapin brûlantes, où nous vîmes dans divers cachots plusieurs Lions, Tigres, Leopards, & beaucoup d'autres bêtes feroces . . . Nous vîmes aussi la peau d'une Giraffe remplie de paille, morte deux mois auparavant . . . Au dessus de ce lieu, nous allâmes dans un vieil bâtiment, lequel nous reconnûmes aussitôt pour avoir servy d'Eglise aux Chrétiens, y voyant encore en peinture le long des murailles Nôtre Seigneur avec les douze Apôtres. Un bon vieillard Turc nous y vint entretenir, lequel nous dit qu'il n'avoit que dix ans qu'il avoit un corps de logis bâty le long de ces murailles, où un Turc qui y demeuroit allant la nuit pour y faire ses immondices, tomba de haut en bas & se tua: pour cela le Mufti qui est le chef de leur Religion le fit

[37] A note in the Lavra E 138 reports that the earthquake of 1509, in addition to damaging the church of church of St. John the Evangelist near the Hippodrome, also threw down the "gate τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κρεμαστοῦ," and "the posts of the gate τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κρεμαστοῦ, which were exceedingly big, together with their upper sill (architrave?: μετὰ τῆς φλιᾶς τῆς ἄνω)." Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς, *loc. cit.* Janin (*Eglises et monastères*, 525) suggests that the church of Christos Kremastos (= "the hanging Christ") was that of the Chalkē because the anonymous Russian pilgrim, in describing the latter, says that the miraculous icon of Christ was "suspended" above its western door (*Itin. russes*, 228). This identification is fairly likely, since we know that the earthquake of 1509 caused serious damage in the Hippodrome region (İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *İstanbul Sarayları*, Istanbul, 1943, 19). Note, however, that the Russian text says "painted" and not "suspended" (see n. 31 above). In 1622 the Capucin missionary Pacifique of Provins visited, within the Seraglio, a Byzantine church in which were kept four elephants and a tigre. It was a domed building with "quatre grand niches comme cul de lampe qui font la croisee de cette Eglise," and spacious galleries like those of St. Sophia. (*Relation du voyage de Perse, faict par le R. P. Pacifique de Provins predicateur capucin*, Paris, 1631, 33—34). It is not clear which church this was (St. Irene?).

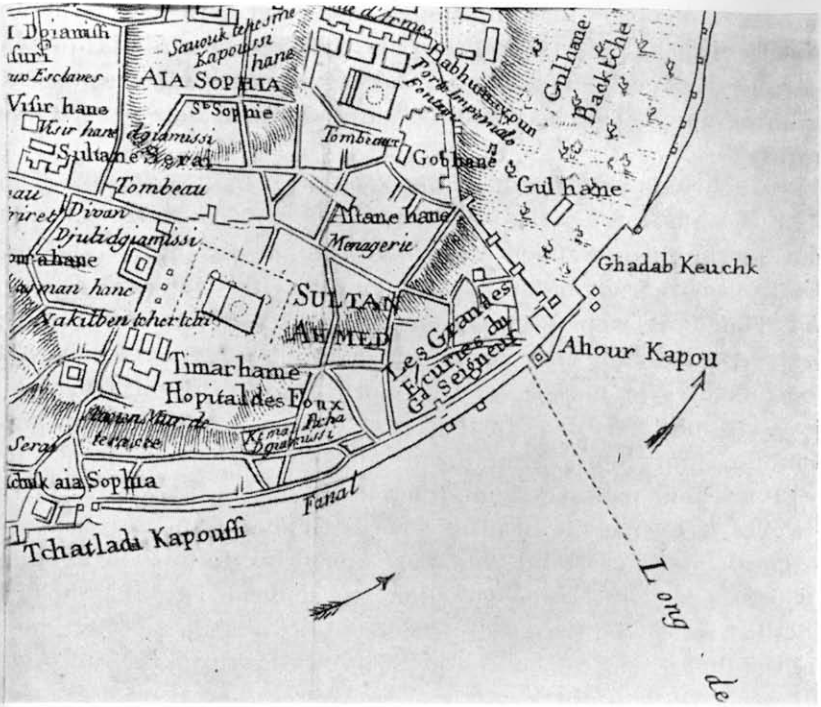

Fig. 26. Part of the plan of Constantinople by Kauffer and Lechevalier (1785—86).

abattre, & défendit que personne n'y demeurât plus dorénevant, disant que ce lieu étoit saint, & que Dieu ne vouloit point qu'il fût profané de la sorte[38]."

Du Loir, who came to Constantinople between 1639 and 1641, writes as follows:

"Un peu au delà de sainte Sophie sont les logements des *Djebedjis*, c'est à dire des Cuirassiers, qu'ils appellent *Chambres*, comme tous les autres quartiers de la milice. Il y a aussi une vieille Tour qui estoit autrefois un Temple de Chrestiens, dont l'obscurité ne me donna pas tant de frayeur quand i'entray dedans, que la veuë de cinq ou six Lyons, & d'autres bestes." Du Loir, too, was shown the body of a giraffe which in those days was still a great rarity in the West[39].

[38] *Voyage d'Italie et du Levant de Messieurs Fermanel . . . Fauvel . . . Baudouin de Launay, et de Stochove*, Rouen, 1687, 54—55.

[39] *Les voyages du sieur Du Loir*, Paris, 1654, 50—51.

De Monconys (1648), although a lover of curiosities, is more brief: "Proche Sainte Sophie est un vieil bastiment de brique en forme de dome, dans lequel sont quelques bestes sauvages, comme lionnes, tigres, leopards, loups cerviers, & la peau d'une girafe[40]."

Much more important is the account by Paul of Aleppo who visited Constantinople in the latter part of 1652 in the suite of the Patriarch of Antioch Macarius. After describing the sultans' mausolea in front of St. Sophia, Paul has this to say:

"Then we went to see *Aslan Hane*. It is a low old church; over it is another church, a high one with a dome, which still has pictures in mosaic, of Our Lord and the four Evangelists, existing until this day. In the lower church are wild beasts, including four lions, some from Algeria and others from our country, four panthers from different lands, a jackal, a fox, three wolves, a hyena, the head of a dead elephant, and a picture of a giraffe and a crocodile which are now dead. In this low church, which is held in great veneration and dedicated to St. John the Baptist, one still sees well-preserved pictures in mosaic. They allege that it was the church of St. John Chrysostom. Near *Aslan Hane* is *Djeba Hane*[41]."

Thévenot (1655—56) speaks briefly of "une vieille tour, où sont gardées les bêtes du Grand Seigneur[42]." The seventeenth century Armenian author Eremya Tchelebi Kömürdjian is more detailed: "Here (i. e. near St. Sophia)," he says, "is a menagerie, the windows of whose dome are blocked up. Originally a church, this building is now full of elephants, foxes, wolves, jackals, bears, lions, crocodiles, leopards, tigers and other animals. Should you wish to go in, it is very dark and the animals howl. The guards light big sticks of resinous wood. Make ready a few aspres for a tip. Above are the quarters of the painters (*Nakkaşhane*). Here the palace painters live[43]."

The French botanist Tournefort (1700), after describing the sultans' mausolea in the courtyard of St. Sophia, says, "A quel-

[40] *Iournal des voyages de Monsieur de Monconys*, Lyon, 1665, I, 438.
[41] French trans. by Basile Radu, *Patr. Orient.*, XXII (1930), 99.
[42] *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant*, Paris, 1665, pt. 1, ch. xvi.
[43] I am quoting from the Turkish translation, Eremya Çelebi Kömürcüyan, *İstanbul Tarihi*, trans. by Hrand D. Andreasyan (Publ. of the Fac. of Lit. of the Univ. of Istanbul, no. 506), 1952, 5.

ques pas de-là se voit une vieille tour, que l'on prétend avoir servi d'Eglise aux Chrétiens; on y nourrit plusieurs bêtes, & c'est comme une petite menagerie du Grand Seigneur, où l'on enferme des Lions, des Leopards, des Tigres, des Loups-cerviers, des

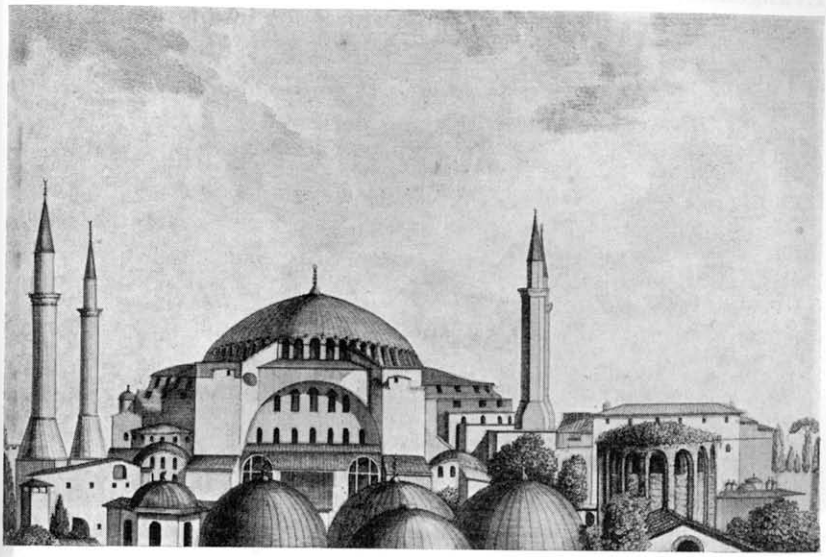

Fig. 27. View of St. Sophia made for Sir Richard Worseley.

Chacals: ces derniers participent du Renard et du Loup, et crient la nuit comme des enfants tourmentez de tranchées[44]."

About 1785 the menagerie was visited by J.-B. Lechevalier who has this to say of it:

"De la Ménagerie (Aslan-Hané). Ce monument antique, qu'on croit être l'église de Saint-Chrysostome, sert aujourd'hui de ménagerie, et se trouve entre la mosquée de Sainte Sophie et celle du sultan Achmet . . . Comme la ménagerie est fort obscure, les gardiens conduisent les curieux avec un morceau de bois résineux allumé, et ils en laissent tomber sans précaution les étincelles sur les tas de paille dont leur route est parsemée. Chez les peuples dont la civilisation est imparfaite ou dégradée, l'ignorance imprime partout le caractère du désordre[45]."

[44] Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d'un voyage du Levant, fait par ordre du Roy*, Lyon, 1727, II, 193.

[45] *Voyage de la Propontide et du Pont-Euxin*, Paris, 1800, I, 228.

In 1795 the menagerie is briefly mentioned by James Dallaway[46], and more fully by the Italian dragoman Cosimo Comidas de Carbognano, who writes as follows:

"Non molto lungi da S. Sofia vi è la Chiesa di S. Giovanni Evangelista, ornata come quella di due mezzecupole, e di una intiera. Ella fu edificata dall'Imperator Foca in onore di S. Foca, ma poscia avendole abbellita, e ingrandita l'Imperator Eraclio, la dedicò a S. Giovanni Evangelista. Gli Ottomani nella parte superiore di essa hanno fabbricato delle abbitazioni per uso dei Pittori della Corte, e del rimanente si servono per rinchiudervi le fiere del Gran Signore, cioè Tigri, Leoni, Leopardi, Lupicervieri e simili. Presentemente la parte esteriore di quest' Edificio è in cattivo stato, e il sito dove ritengonsi gli accennati animali, è divenuto tetro, e caliginoso come una caverna per il fumo dell' oleaginoso legno di pino, che attesa l'oscurità del luogo arder si suole per comodo dei curiosi[47]."

In 1804 a similar account is given by the Armenian cosmographer Gugas Indjidjian. "The menagerie," he says, "which is not a very big building, is close to St. Sophia and the Hippodrome. Inside this building, which has a dome and two semi-domes, used to be kept leopards, wolves and other wild animals belonging to the Sultan. In the upper part of the building rooms had been made for the painters to live in, but these were entirely burnt out in 1802. In this year 1804 the stone building was pulled down in order to enlarge the barracks [of the *Djebedjis*]. The menagerie was in olden times the church of St. John the Evangelist. The building was begun by the emperor Phocas in honour of St. Phocas, and was completed by Heraclius who killed that emperor and re-named the church after St. John the Evangelist[48]."

In 1808, as a result of a clash between the Janissaries and the troops of Mustafa Bayraktar, Pasha of Rushtchuk, the wooden houses behind the apse of St. Sophia were set on fire. The conflagration, which started at the first gate of the Seraglio (Bab-i-

[46] *Constantinople Ancient and Modern*, London, 1797, 98.

[47] *Descrizione topografica dello stato presente di Constantinopoli*, Bassano, 1794, 28.

[48] *Geography of the Four Parts of the World. Second Part: Europe*, vol. V, Venice, 1804, 147 (in Armenian). I should like to thank Mr. A. Salmasian of the Bibliothèque Nubar Pacha (Paris) for having transcribed this passage for me, and Prof. S. Der Nersessian for the translation. A Turkish translation of the same passage may be found in Andreasyan, *op. cit.*, 109—10.

hümayun) spread rapidly to the south, destroying the *Djebehane* and ending up at the Hippodrome. In 1813 Sultan Mahmud II laid the foundations of a new *Djebehane*[49].

Thus, shortly after the menagerie was pulled down, the whole district was devastated by fire. In 1824, the patriarch Constantius

Fig. 28. View of St. Sophia photographed in 1958. *Courtesy of the Byzantine Institute, Inc.*

I wrote that the church of "St. Phocas" which "had remained half-destroyed to our day . . . was later converted (Oh, the instability of things!) into a stable for unclean beasts, the same as was called formerly Aslan-hane . . . On this spot, the former church having been razed to the ground, have already been built the new quarters of the Djebedjis[50]." Towards the middle of the nineteenth century the Swiss architects Gaspare and Giuseppe Fossati erected the massive pile of the Ottoman University[51] (later occupied by the Ministry of Justice and burnt down in 1933) over the site of the menagerie. Fig. 33 taken from Gaspare Fossati's album *Aya Sofia*[52] reproduces the architect's own delineation of this building seen from the north-east minaret of

[49] See the Turkish documents quoted by İbrahim Hakkī Konyalī, *op. cit.*, 200—06.

[50] Κωνσταντινιὰς παλαιά τε καὶ νεωτέρα, Venice, 1824, 81.

[51] Cf. Tito Lacchia, "I Fossati, architetti del Sultano di Turchia," *Giornale di politica e di letteratura*, XVIII 9—12 (1942), 341—43.

[52] *Aya Sofia, Constantinople, as Recently Restored by Order of H. M. the Sultan Abdul-Medjid*, London, 1852, pl. 20.

St. Sophia. The original manuscript captions for this album are preserved in the Archives of Bellinzona[53], whereas the published text is a considerably altered adaptation of them by Vicomte Adalbert de Beaumont. For the plate that concerns us the manuscript caption reads: "L'Edifice qui se trouve sur le premier plan est la nouvelle Université fondée par le Sultan actuel, et actuellement en construction. Cet Edifice occupe une grande partie de l'Augusteoum, et l'église de St. Jean-Théologue."

The accounts of travellers and natives that we have quoted agree in placing the menagerie close to the sultans' mausolea and the Djebehane, between St. Sophia and the Sultan Ahmet mosque. The earliest map of Constantinople that can claim to some accuracy, the one made in 1785—86 by Kauffer and Lechevalier, indicates south of St. Sophia the Djebehane (labelled *Gobhane*), and a little further down, on a narrow street, the *Aslane hane* (fig. 26). The same map appeared with a few changes in the monumental work of the French ambassador Choiseul-Gouffier, and there the menagerie is marked "église ancienne"[54]. In addition to this map, we have at least three pictures of the menagerie. The most noteworthy of these is a view of St. Sophia from one of the minarets of Sultan Ahmet's mosque made by an Italian artist in 1786 for Sir Richard Worseley[55] (fig. 27). As we are looking at St. Sophia over the roof-tops, we are shown in the foreground three domes belonging to the sultans' mausolea, and, in front of the middle one, another dome, without a crescent, which is that of the Turkish bath (cf. photograph of the same view, fig. 28). To the right, in front of the Bab-i-hümayun gate, whose rectangular mass is outlined in the distance, rises the tall round drum of a Byzantine church. Its windows (probably twelve) are walled up in accordance with Kömürdjian's description, while the top of the dome is overgrown with weeds. In front of the drum is a structure with an arched window and a gable roof which it is rather difficult to relate to the dome.

There can be no doubt that this typical church of the middle-

[53] This document has been kindly communicated to me by my colleague R. L. Van Nice.

[54] *Voyage pittoresque de l'Empire Ottoman*, IV, Paris, 1842. This work is based on materials collected between 1780 and 1790, but its publication was delayed by the political troubles in France. Cf. also Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et du Bosphore*, Paris, 1819, II, Plan particulier du Sérail.

[55] *Museum Worsleyanum*, London, 1794, II, facing p. 107.

Byzantine period is the menagerie visited by the travellers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Its situation on the map of Kauffer and Lechevalier corresponds exactly to its place on Sir Richard Worseley's drawing. The latter is particularly valuable,

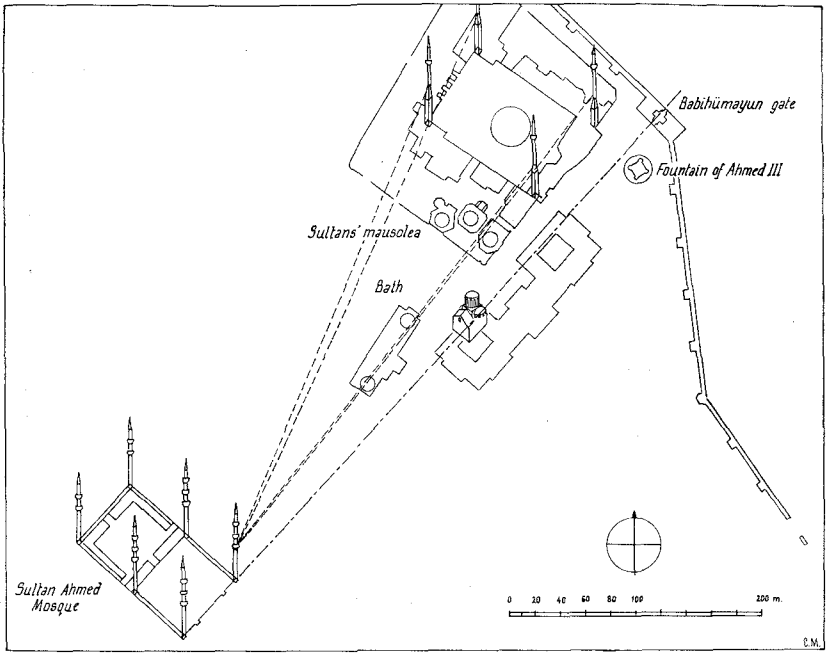

Fig. 29. Sketch-plan showing the alinement of monuments of Worseley's view.

for it not only gives us some idea of the appearance of the church, but also helps to determine its situation with greater accuracy. The alinement of the minarets of St. Sophia proves that the drawing was made from the northeast minaret of Sultan Ahmet. Thus it is possible to draw a line on the map from the northeast minaret of Sultan Ahmet to the Bab-i-hümayun gate, along which line the menagerie must have stood (fig. 29). Its position on that line relative to St. Sophia and Sultan Ahmet may be determined thanks to the Kauffer-Lechevalier map and to two drawings, both made by the Swedish engineer Cornelius Loos in 1710[56]. The first of these (fig. 30) is part of a panoramic view

[56] These previously unpublished drawings are reproduced by kind permission of the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.

of Istanbul, from the Seraglio Point to the Land Walls, seen across the Golden Horn. To the right of St. Sophia is shown a Byzantine church with a dome, overgrown with vegetation as on Worseley's drawing, and a western semi-dome. It is labelled "Nackache Hané", i. e. Painters' House (cf. Kömürdjian's account, p. 158, above). An examination of this view, of which only part is reproduced here, and in particular of the alinement of the minarets of the principal mosques (St. Sophia, Sultan Ahmet, Yeni Valide Djami, Beyazid, Süleymaniye, etc.), indicates that it was taken from the Galata tower[57]. This enables us to project the position of the menagerie on the line we have already established from Worseley's drawing (fig. 31). Although absolute accuracy cannot be expected from Loos' picture, the position of the menagerie obtained by this method is in complete agreement with the Kauffer-Lechevalier map.

The second Loos drawing (fig. 32) is part of a panorama of the Seraglio, including St. Irene and St. Sophia, taken from almost the same vantage point as the first drawing. Our church may be seen once more to the right of St. Sophia, weed-covered and neglected. Its dome is strangely flattened and provided with flying buttresses. The manner of the second drawing is rather studied and pedantic, while the first one has a more spontaneous and "on-the-spot" quality.

Now that the position of the menagerie has been established with a fair degree of accuracy, we may proceed to ascertain its Byzantine name. We need not attach any importance to the travellers' reports that it was the church of St. John the Baptist (Paul of Aleppo), St. John Chrysostom (Paul of Aleppo, Lechevalier) or St. John the Evangelist/St. Phocas (Carbognano, Indjidjian, Constantius, Fossati). In Constantinople and its environs there were thirty four churches and monasteries dedicated to St. John the Baptist, eight to St. John the Evangelist, and only one to St. John Chrysostom, but insofar as their approximate location is known, none of them can be identified with the menagerie. Towards the end of the eighteenth century some amateur archaeologist, perhaps Carbognano himself, thought that the menagerie was the church of St. John the Evangelist *alias* St.

[57] Cf. the photographic view of Istanbul from the Galata tower in Ernst Diez and Heinrich Glück, *Alt-Konstantinopel*, Munich, 1920, frontispiece.

Phocas of the Diippion, mentioned by pseudo-Codinus[58]. As I have said, this identification is probably correct as regards the earlier menagerie that stood at the entrance of the Hippodrome, but it cannot possibly apply to the menagerie of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that was next to the Djebehane.

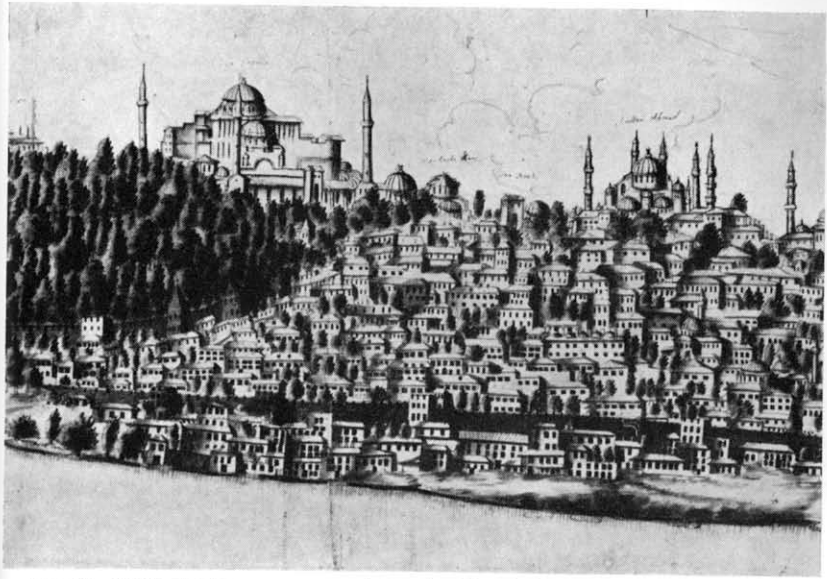

Fig. 30. Part of the panorama of Constantinople by Cornelius Loos (1710). *Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.*

On the basis of the evidence presented thus far we may advance three arguments for suggesting that the second menagerie was the church of Christ Chalkitês: 1) the location that we have established is almost directly opposite the south-east corner of St. Sophia and the Holy Well, i. e. the same that we have suggested for the Chalkê (p. 97, above); 2) the tall drum of the dome, shown on Worseley's drawing and mistaken for a tower by Du Loir, would fit a late tenth-century date; 3) the elevated position of the upper church, indicated by the travellers' accounts as well as by the Worseley and Loos drawings, is in accord with the testimony of Byzantine sources regarding the church of Christ Chalkitês. These arguments may be considered fairly convincing

[58] Bonn ed., 37.

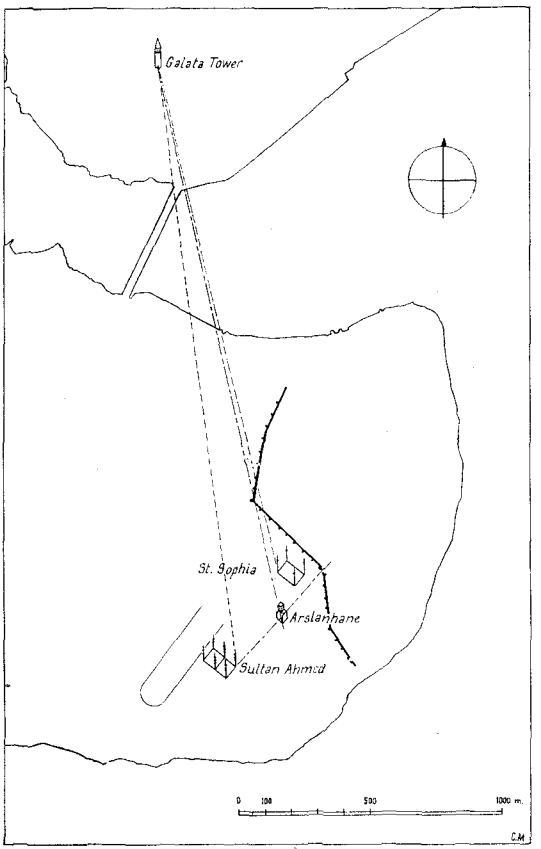

Fig. 31. Sketch-plan showing the alinement of monuments on Loos' view.

in themselves, but there is an additional piece of evidence which, I believe, confirms our identification beyond any reasonable doubt. We have seen that the church of Christ Chalkitês was built by John Tzimiskes when he was at war with the Russians, i. e. the Scythians in contemporary Byzantine parlance[59], and that he dedicated it as a memorial of his victory[60]. Thomas Smith, fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, who came to Constantinople in 1673, has this to say of the menagerie: "Lustrum istud, quo leones, leopardi caeteraeque sylvestres ferae inclu-

[59] On the use of this name see Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, 237.
[60] Cedrenus, II, 413.

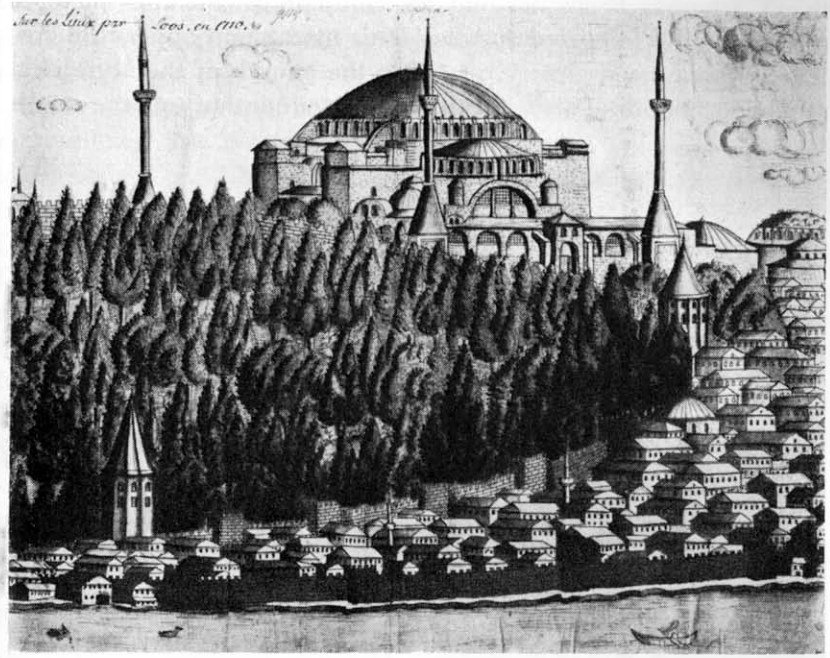

Fig. 32. Part of another panorama of Constantinople by Cornelius Loos (1710). *Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.*

duntur, olim fuisse ecclesiam τῇ Παναγίᾳ sacram a Graecis accepi. Unicum versiculum illic inscriptum, cum caeteri vix legi potuissent, his appono: κατὰ Σκυθῶν ἔπνευσας θερμὸν ἐν μάχαις[61]." Without doubt this one verse, "Thou hast wafted a hot breath against the Scythians in battle," is part of a metrical inscription commemorating the campaign of John Tzimiskes.

We may now recapitulate the travellers' statements regarding the architectural form of the *Arslanhane*. It was a building in two storeys. The lower chapel, which was used to house wild beasts, was decorated with mosaics. The upper church, used as a dwelling for painters, had a high dome and two semi-domes. According to Paul of Aleppo, it had mosaics of Our Lord and the four Evangelists (probably in the dome and in the penden-

[61] *Opuscula*, Rotterdam, 1716, 121. This passage and the one by Paul of Aleppo have been quoted by me in REB, VIII (1951), 161, but I failed at that time to interpret them correctly. The alleged dedication to the Virgin is yet another example of the ignorance of the local inhabitants.

tives), whereas Fermanel and his companions mention pictures of Christ and the twelve apostles. This monument appears, therefore, to have been closely related to the church of the Myrelaion (Bodrum Djami), also an imperial foundation of the tenth

Fig. 33. View of the Ottoman University from the north-east minaret of St. Sophia. *After Gaspare Fossati.*

century[62], which is built on top of an older chapel. In Constantinople there are a few other examples of two-storey churches: the funeral chapel, now almost completely destroyed, which went by the name of Boğdan Saray[63], Odalar Djami[64], and perhaps also St. Theodosia (Gül Djami) which stands on a high platform concealing a vast crypt that has remained unexplored to this day.

[62] D. Talbot Rice, "Excavations at Bodrum Camii, 1930," *Byzantion*, VIII (1933), 152—58. Prof. Talbot Rice does not think that Bodrum Djami is the Myrelaion church, refounded by Romanus I, because that emperor's tomb was not found in the course of the excavations, but this is hardly a sufficient argument in the face of a tradition that goes back to Gyllius. Cf. Brunov, "Architektura Konstantinopolja IX—XII vekov," *Viz. Vrem.*, II (1949), 169—71; Janin, *Eglises et monastères*, 366.

[63] See the section in A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*, London, 1912, 287.

[64] P. Schazmann, "Des fresques byzantines récemment découvertes par l'auteur dans les fouilles à Odalar Camii," *St. biz.*, VI (1940), 373 and pl. CXX.

One is also reminded of the two-storey funeral churches of Armenia and Bulgaria, said to be derived from the early Christian *martyrium*[65].

The Chalkê church could also be related to another group of monuments, the Western "saintes chapelles", princely shrines intended as repositories for holy relics, some of which are also in two storeys, e. g. the Cámara Santa at Oviedo (802), the Sainte Chapelle of Paris (1235) and also, in principle, the Palatine Chapel of Aachen, not to mention the palatine chapels of Germany from the eleventh century onwards. This group of buildings has been studied by Professor Grabar who derives it likewise from the ancient *martyrium*[66]. True to his classification, the Chalkê church combined both functions, that of the funeral chapel and that of the reliquary chapel.

[65] Grabar, "Bolgarskija cerkvi-grobnici," *Bull. de l'Inst. archéol. bulg.*, I (1922), 103—32; G. Balş, "Contribution à la question des églises superposées dans le domaine byzantin," *ibid.*, X (1936), 156—67. The problem of two-storey funeral chapels is discussed by Grabar, *Martyrium*, I, 87 sq.; Dyggve, "Le type architectural de la Cámara Santa d'Oviedo et l'architecture asturienne," *Cahiers archéologiques*, VI (1952), 125—33.

[66] *Martyrium*, I, 559 sq.

Appendix I

The Date of the Destruction of the Chalkê Image by Leo III

It has been pointed out above (p. 113) that the sources disagree on the date of the first destruction of the Chalkê image, some saying that this occurred in 726—27, others in 730. The solution of this problem is not a mere chronological detail, as it affects very vitally the interpretation of the initial stage of the iconoclastic movement, and is linked with the controversy concerning the authenticity of the First Letter of Pope Gregory II to Leo III. Since the evidence is insufficient for a clear-cut solution, I only propose to discuss in brief the respective merits of the two dates and to point out the implications of accepting either one or the other.

The date 726—27 is based on Theophanes who places the Chalkê incident after the volcanic eruption between the islands of Thera and Therasia (summer of 726), but prior to the uprising in Greece and the appearance of the rebel fleet before the walls of Constantinople (April 727)[1]. The same date is found in other sources which depend directly on Theophanes and have, therefore, no independent authority, such as Anastasius[2], Cedrenus[3], and the *Historia miscella* falsely attributed to Paul the Deacon[4]. It is also supported by the so-called First Letter of Pope Gregory II which, in spite of Ostrogorsky's[5] and Caspar's[6] ingenious

[1] Theophanes, 404—05.

[2] *Chronogr. tripertita*, along with Theophanes ed. De Boor, II, 261.

[3] I, 795.

[4] PL 95, 1083.

[5] "Les débuts de la Querelle des Images," *Mélanges Ch. Diehl*, I, Paris, 1930, 235—55.

[6] "Papst Gregor II. und der Bilderstreit," *Zeitschr. für Kirchengeschichte*, LII (1933), 29—89.

defense of it, must be regarded either as wholly apocryphal or, at least, as drastically interpolated[7]. In the opening paragraph of this letter it is stated that Leo (who was crowned on March 25, 717) had "trodden the right path" for ten years (τοὺς δέκα χρόνους χάριτι θεοῦ καλῶς περιεπάτησας)[8] before he started assailing the holy images. Furthermore, the last missive of Leo's which "Gregory" says he has received is that of the 9th Indiction (725—26)[9], and Germanus is still spoken of as being Patriarch of Constantinople. We have seen, however, that the passage concerning the destruction of the Chalkoprateia (i. e. the Chalkê) image is particularly dubious, so that the Pope's letter cannot be given much weight in this connection. The 726—27 date for the Chalkê incident has been accepted by the majority of modern scholars, such as Hefele[10], Vasil'evskij[11], Schwarzlose[12], Andreev[13], Ostrogorsky[14], Martin[15], Bréhier[16] and others.

The 730 date is founded on two hagiographic texts, and has been accepted by Pagi[17] and a few other scholars. According to

[7] Cf. H. Grégoire's remarks in *Byzantion*, VIII (1933), 761—64 in connection with Caspar's *Geschichte des Papsttums*, vol. II. A. Faggioto ("Sulla discussa autenticità delle due lettere di Gregorio II a Leone III Isaurico," *St. biz.*, V [1939], 437—43) has not added anything new to the debate.

[8] Cf. John of Damascus, *Adv. Constant. Caball.*, PG 95, 336D; *Vita S. Stephani iunioris*, PG 100, 1084B.

[9] It is clearly stated in the opening sentence of the Letter that Leo became emperor in the 14th Indiction (715—16) and that the Pope received eleven imperial missives, one each year, starting with that same 14th Indiction down to the 9th of the next cycle. I do not understand why Ostrogorsky (*op. cit.*, 251—52) thinks that the letter of the 14th Ind. is the last one, and that those of the 15th to the 9th are the "ten Orthodox letters." Since the 14th Ind. of the second cycle (730—31) is impossible, he emends this figure to either 10 or 11. Actually, the Greek text offers no difficulty, except for the fact, pointed out long ago by Guérard (in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, X [1890], 53—54) and by Hodgkin (*Italy and her Invaders*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1916, VI, 504), viz. that in 715—16 Leo had not yet been proclaimed emperor in Constantinople, and could hardly have been in correspondence with the Pope.

[10] Hefele—Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles*, III 2, 1910, 636—39.

[11] "Žitie Stefana Novago," *Žurnal Minist. Narodnago Prosveščenija*, June 1877, 295 sq. (= *Trudy*, II, St. Petersburg, 1912, 310 sq).

[12] *Der Bilderstreit*, Gotha, 1890, 52—53.

[13] "Sv. German, patriarch Konstantinopol'skij," *Bogoslovskij Vestnik*, VI (1897), 315. Andreev's articles on Germanus and Tarasius, first published in *Bogosl. Vestnik*, were later revised and reprinted as a book, *German i Tarasij, patriarchi Konstantinopol'skie*, Sergiev Posad, 1907, which is not accessible to me.

[14] *Op. cit.*, and *Gesch. d. byz. Staates*, Munich, 1952, 130.

[15] *A History of the Iconoclastic Controversy*, London, [1930], 31—32.

[16] In Fliche & Martin, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, V (1947), 450; *Vie et mort de Byzance*, Paris, 1947, 79.

[17] *Critica historico-chronologica in universos annales ecclesiasticos . . . Caes. Card. Baronii*, III, Antwerp, 1727, ann. 726, ix; ann. 730, v, vii.

the Life of St. Stephen the Younger, the destruction of the Chalkê icon occurred immediately (παρευθὺ) after the resignation of Germanus and the consecration of Anastasius (January 22, 730)[18]. More or less the same sequence is given in the Acts of the Ten Martyrs, according to which Leo III gave orders for the suppression of the image after the resignation of Germanus (January 17, 730), and the scuffle which resulted in the death of many good Christians occurred on the 19th of January[19]. If the latter date were based on an independent tradition, it would carry considerable authority. The author of the Acts, however, derived much of his historical information about the outbreak of iconoclasm from Theophanes, so he may have arbitrarily placed the bloody incident two days after the iconoclast *silentium* which, according to Theophanes, took place on the 17th[20]. Furthermore, the 19th of January does not wholly agree with the Life of St. Stephen, according to which the women who slew the spathar rushed to the Patriarchate and threw stones at Anastasius who, however, did not become patriarch until the 22nd[21].

Thus, after eliminating all the derivatory and dubious sources, we are left to choose between the chronology of Theophanes, and that of the Life of St. Stephen, neither of which is infallible. The most ingenious attempt to defend the 726 date and to explain why 730 is given by hagiographic sources was made by Andreev. On the authority of the *Patria* (which I have rejected, *supra*, p. 109), he assumed that the Chalkê image was a statue, and argued that at first only plastic representations were attacked, until 730, when paintings were outlawed as well. Germanus, he says, tended to compromise on statues, which were too obvious a reminder of pagan practice, and that is why he did not object too strenuously to the Chalkê incident and remained in office until 730. Andreev does not reject the story told in the Life of St. Stephen of how the women rushed to the patriarch's and jeered at him, but he substitutes Germanus for Anastasius. In order to represent Germanus as an uncompromising fighter

[18] PG 100, 1085C.

[19] ASS, Aug. vol. II, 441B. This date has been accepted by Pargoire (*L'église byzantine de 527 à 847*, 3rd ed., Paris, 1923, 255) who by mistake has 729 instead of 730.

[20] 408_{31} (read ιζ′ instead of ζ′).

[21] *Ibid.*, 409_{11}.

against heresy, instead of the vacillating man that he was, the hagiographic sources deliberately moved the incident three or four years later so as to throw the blame on Anastasius.

The suggestion that the outrage of the Chalkê was shifted to the patriarchate of Anastasius in order to safeguard the reputation of Germanus is certainly tempting, although the supposition that the iconoclasts first outlawed statues and later extended the interdiction to paintings is entirely unfounded, and the two texts that Andreev adduces in support of his view say nothing of the kind[22]. A good case, however, can also be made in favour of placing the incident in 730, when it would have formed a logical sequel to the *silentium* of January 17th. Ostrogorsky, following Andreev, has attempted to show that there was no official iconoclastic edict before the one of 730. This view is accepted by Bréhier[23] who buttresses it with another argument. At an interview with Leo III held in 729, Germanus is reported to have said: "We hear that the destruction of the holy and venerable icons is going to take place, but not in thy reign[24]." So Bréhier asks, "Germain aurait-il pu tenir ce langage, si l'édit avait été publié?" It is, however, equally inconceivable that Germanus would have said this if the famous icon of the Chalkê had already been destroyed. This is not the place to examine the very complicated problem of whether or not there was an edict against images in 726[25]. The existence of such an earlier edict does not necessarily imply that the Chalkê icon was removed in the same year; but if we deny the edict of 726, then it becomes unlikely that the Chalkê incident, presupposing as it does an explicit imperial order, could have happened before 730. Apart from the doubtful case under discussion and some minor incidents in Asia Minor, like the one of a soldier's throwing a stone at an

[22] The first text is from Germanus' Letter to Thomas of Claudiopolis (PG 98, 188) and merely says that bronze statues are not to be recommended, although the Lord not only did not reject the statue put up to Him by the Haemorrhoissa at Paneas, but even made it miraculous. The second text (*De haer. et synodis*, § 42, PG 98, 80) states that the Iconoclasts removed from churches not only portable icons on wooden panels (τῇ διὰ σανίδων ἐκποιήσει τὰ τῶν ἁγίων περιαίρεσθαι εἰκονίσματα), but even mural paintings. Andreev may have been misled by Mai's translation, "haud satis fuit statuas tantummodo sanctorum auferre."

[23] In Fliche & Martin, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, V, 449.

[24] Theophanes, 407.

[25] Prof. M. V. Anastos has kindly allowed me to read his unpublished paper entitled "Leo III's Edict against the Images in the Year 726," in which he offers serious evidence that such an edict was in fact issued.

image of the Virgin at Nicaea[26], no destruction of images is known to have occurred before 730. Furthermore, it should be stressed that according to Nicephorus[27] the persecution of icon-worshippers did not start until the patriarchate of Anastasius. Yet all the sources assert that the Chalkê incident was followed by cruel reprisals, and Theophanes, in particular, states that it led to a general persecution of the educated class. These considerations are not perhaps decisive, but they do show that the 730 date has much to recommend it and should not be rejected lightly.

Appendix II

A Colonnade in or near the Augustaion

In Chapter II I have put forward certain views concerning the origin and size of the Augustaion, but have refrained from discussing its decoration. A great deal has been written about Justinian's column and equestrian statue, a monument that is known to us in considerable detail in spite of its destruction four hundred years ago[1]. This is not the place to enter into a discussion of it, although much still remains to be said. In particular, it should be elucidated, if possible, whether the equestrian statue was in fact Justinian's or whether it was a re-used statue of Theodosius I or Theodosius II, as certain evidence suggests[2]. If

[26] Theophanes, 406.

[27] *Opuscula historica*, 58.

[1] Among recent works, see J. Kollwitz, *Oströmische Plastik der Theodosianischen Zeit*, Berlin, 1941, 12 sq.; Guilland in ΕΕΒΣ, XVIII (1948), 155—61; Janin, *CP byzantine*, 78—80; G. Downey in *Art Bulletin*, XXXIV (1952), 235. On the basis of the descriptions by Procopius, Nicephorus Gregoras and Pachymeres, it would be possible to give a reasonably accurate reconstruction of this monument. The attempt of C. Gurlitt (*Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, Berlin, 1907, I, pl. 5, g) is grotesque; that of Antoniades (Ἔκφρασις, I, 59) disregards the evidence of Pachymeres. Note incidentally, that the shaft of the column was built of brick with single courses of white stone inserted at wide intervals (Pachymeres *apud* Nic. Greg., II, 1218), a technique characteristic of Justinian's period.

[2] Attention should especially be drawn to a note in a ms of Buondelmonti (Marc. Cl. X, 124) which says: "Et usque in hodiernum fuit opinio ut esset Justinianus; sed, capto ordine ascendendi ad verticem ipsius columne, visum est scriptum in ipso homine et equo eneo esse Theodosium." (*St. biz.*, III, 258 n. 1). On the view of Constantinople contained in two other mss the monument is labelled "Theodosius in equo ereo" (*ibid.*, 267). The unusual legend on the drawing made for Cyriacus of Ancona, FON(s) GLORIAE PERENNIS THEODOSI, was probably copied from the inscription on the statue. Note that according to Malalas (482), the equestrian statue had originally been that of Arcadius.

the latter alternative proves to be true, the accepted interpretation of this monument will naturally have to be modified. Further attention should also be devoted to the curious head-dress of the statue, as it is shown on the fifteenth-century drawing at Budapest, and which can hardly be the same as the plumed helmet (κράνος) mentioned by Procopius[3].

It would also be of interest to know more about the three columns which stood in a row in front of Justinian's. According to the anonymous Russian pilgrim (1390), "Facing him (i. e. Justinian) three pagan kings, also of bronze and on top of columns, are bending their knees before Justinian and delivering their cities into his hands[4]." Zosima (1420) also mentions the "Saracen kings," with this difference that, according to him, the "brazen idols" were standing, tribute in hand[5]. The statues had apparently disappeared by 1432, since in that year Bertrandon de la Broquière saw only their columns. "Et assés près dudit pillier (that of Justinian)," he says, "en a III autres d'un renc, chascun d'une pierre sur lesquelx souloit avoir trois chevaulx dorez lesquelz sont maintenant à Venize[6]."

From travellers' accounts we learn of yet another set of columns which so far has received little attention. I am, therefore, reproducing the relevant statements in chronological order:

González de Clavijo (1403): "e en vna plaça que estaua ante la iglesia [St. Sophia], están nuebe mármoles blancos, los mayores e más gruesos que creo que omne viese; e en çima tenian Sus basas, e dezian que ally solian estar en çima vn grand palaçio onde fazian Su cabildo e el patriarca e los clérigos[7]."

Buondelmonti (1420). This sentence seems to occur only in the Paris manuscript (Lat. 4825) and in the Greek version of the

[3] *De aedif.*, I, ii, 9.

[4] Speranskij's ed., 130 = *Itin. russes*, 228.

[5] Ed. Loparev, 5 = *Itin. russes*, 202.

[6] *Le voyage d'outremer de Bertrandon de la Broquière*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris, 1892, 159—60. Bertrandon is mistaken about the gilded horses. The columns seen by him were clearly those described by the Russian pilgrims. Hence there is no need to suppose, as Ebersolt (*Constantinople byzantine et les voyageurs du Levant*, 59—60) and Guilland (in *Miscellanea Galbiati*, III, 213) have done, that the four (not three) pedestals of the horses were transported from the Hippodrome to the Augustaion after the removal of the statues to Venice. Note that according to Buondelmonti (*St. biz.*, III, 275) the four pillars that had once supported the Venetian horses were near the *columna Crucis* (Constantine's porphyry column).

[7] *Embajada a Tamorlán*, ed. Francisco López Estrada, Madrid, 1943, 44; *Embassy to Tamerlane*, trans. Guy Le Strange, London, 1928, 71—72.

Seraglio Library: "Et iuxta hanc [Justinian's column] sex columnae marmoreae erectae magnae videntur seriatim. Ultro vero has hippodromus descenditur[8]." The Greek translation reads as follows: ἐγγὺς τούτου καὶ ἕτεροι μέγιστοι κίονες ἵστανται στιχιδὸν, ἐπέκεινα δὲ τούτων πρὸς μεσημβρίαν καὶ ἱππόδρομος . . . ἐξαπλοῦται[9].

Gyllius (1544—50) gives a detailed description of seven Corinthian columns which he saw near the south-west corner of St. Sophia, by the pipes of a water-tower which had replaced the pedestal of Justinian's column ("exiguo intervallo distantes a fistulis aquaeductus prodeuntis ex castello posito in loco, ubi antea fuisse columnam Justiniani in Foro Augustaeo diximus")[10]. The bases and lower part of the shafts of these columns were buried to a depth of six feet, but Gyllius was able to measure them having by accident fallen into a trench that was being dug between the columns for laying the foundations of a wall. Here is a list of his measurements:

Plinth	— buried in the ground		
Lower torus	— 7 inches high (*altus*), 8 inches thick (*crassus*)	=	*ca.* 0.175 m.
Height of base, excluding plinth	— 2 ft 9 inches	=	0.825 m.
Fillet of shaft	— 9 inches	=	0.225 m.
Height of shaft	— 30 ft 6 inches	=	9.15 m.
Total height of column, including base and capital	— about 46 ft 6 inches	=	13.95 m.
Perimeter of shaft	— 19 ft	=	5.70 m.
Intercolumniation	— 20 ft 10 inches	=	6.25 m.

[8] Bonn ed. (along with Nicephorus Bryennius), 180.

[9] S. Reinach, "La description de Constantinople par Buondelmonte," ΚΕΦΣ, Εἰκοσιπενταετηρίς (suppl. to vol. XVIII), 1888, 185. It is perhaps the same columns that are mentioned in a Persian translation, made in the late 15th century, of the Byzantine *Diegesis* concerning St. Sophia. Among the buildings allegedly erected by Constantine the Great, this document names "the church of St. John the Baptist [of the Diippion?], whose columns, which remain, stand to this day in front of [variant: not far from] St. Sophia." F. Tauer, "Les versions persanes de la légende sur la construction d'Aya Sofya," BSL, XV (1954), 3.

[10] Cf. the account of Justinian's column in Gyllius, *De topographia CP*, II, xvii: "Tandem ante triginta annos eversa est tota, usque ad stylobatem; quem anno superiore funditus vidi exscindi, ex cujus crepidinibus aqua saliebat fistulis in magnum labrum: nunc stylobatae loco, castellum aquae latius constructum est, & fistulae auctae."

On the shaft of one of these columns was incised the name of Constantine the Great, accompanied by a cross and the inscription ἐν τούτῳ νίκᾳ. Gyllius was informed by local inhabitants that these columns had been in Constantine's palace; others told him that they had supported a bridge connecting the palace to St. Sophia[11]. It is interesting that the recollection of a raised passage joining the palace to St. Sophia should have survived until the sixteenth century, even if that raised passage had nothing to do with the columns seen by Gyllius.

Upon examining Gyllius' measurements, one is immediately struck by the colossal size of these columns and by their disproportionate thickness. By way of comparison, the biggest columns of St. Sophia have an average height (including the stylobate) of 10.45 m., a shaft 7.98 m. high with a perimeter of 3.21 m.[12] It would be difficult to offer a reconstruction of the columns described by Gyllius, owing to the unexplained discrepancy between the total height (13.95 m.) and the height of the shaft and base (9.15 + 0.825 = 9.975 m.) amounting to about 3.95 m. Since Gyllius does not mention a stylobate, one can only suggest (unless there is a mistake in the figures) that there was an impost block over the capital.

Breuning von Buochenbach (1579—80): "Zum siebenden sein nicht weit von *Sancta Sophia* nahe den *aquaeductibus, in foro Augustaeo,* noch etliche *columnae.* Auff deren einer *Constantini Magni* Namen eingehawen. Alda ober einem zeichen diese oberschrift ἐν τούτῳ νούκᾳ (sic)[13]." This passage is obviously reproduced from Gyllius.

Evliya Tchelebi (middle of the seventeenth century) mentions in his enumeration of the talismans of Constantinople four columns of white marble that stood south of St. Sophia, near the subterranean springs (*çukur-çeşme*). They were disposed in a square, and each of them, it was reported, had once supported the statue of an archangel which, however, fell down when the Prophet was born[14].

[11] *Ibid.*, II, xviii.
[12] Antoniades, Ἔκφρασις, II, 32.
[13] *Orientalische Reyss. Erste Meerfahrt von Venedig auff Constantinopel,* Strasbourg, 1612, 80.
[14] *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa,* trans. J. von Hammer, I, London, 1834, 18.

Du Loir (1635) — "En allant à la Mosquée que les Turcs nomment *neufve* (i. e. the mosque of Sultan Ahmet), & qui est proche de ce lieu (i. e. the menagerie), on voit dans vne petite ruë trois grandes colonnes de Marbre blanc disposées en triangle, qui ont bien quarante pieds de heut, & dont il seroit difficile de reconnoistre l'vsage ancien, si l'on n'en croit à ce que les Chrestiens du païs tiennent encore par tradition, & à ce que Nicéphore rapporte. Il (sic) disent que Constantin fit eriger trois Croix de Bronze sur ces trois colonnes, & qu'en chacune, il fit grauer vn de ces trois mots, IESVS — CHRIST, SVRMONTE. Qu'en la Croix où *surmonte* estoit graué, il se faisoit plusieurs Miracles, & particulierement pour les inflammations ou la douleur des yeux, et pour les catherres. Que trois fois l'année vn Ange auoit accoustumé de descendre à minuit & encenser au tour de ces Croix en chantant le Trisagion[15]."

The origin of this legend is indeed in Nicephorus Callistus[16] who, however, connects it with three columns that had been allegedly erected by Constantine the Great, the first at the Forum, the second at the Philadelphion and the third at the Artopolia; each of them bore one of these words Ἰησοῦς – Χριστός – νικᾷ. The resemblance of this inscription to the ἐν τούτῳ νίκᾳ recorded by Gyllius may explain the transference of this legend from one set of columns to another.

Thévenot (1655): "Derrière et tout auprès de la dite Eglise [St. Sophia], non loin de son entrée, dans une petite rue se voient deux grandes et grosses colonnes, où l'on dit que se faisoit autrefois justice; d'autres disent qu'il y en avoit trois, & que sur chacune Constantin y avoit fait mettre une Croix de bronze, & que sur chaque Croix étoit gravée en mots & caractères Grecs, une de ces paroles, JESUS, CHRIST, SURMONTE; proche de là est une vieille tour [the menagerie]," etc.[17]

Thus from nine the columns were gradually reduced to seven, four, three and finally two, before they disappeared altogether. It seems that they stood in a double row, since the four that were extant at the time of Evliya Tchelebi were disposed in a

[15] *Les voyages du sieur Du Loir*, Paris, 1654, 61—62.
[16] VIII, 32 (PG 146, 122).
[17] *Voyages de Mr de Thevenot en Europe, Asie & Afrique*, 3rd ed., Amsterdam, 1727, 64—65; *The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant*, London, 1687, 39.

square, while Du Loir, who saw only three of them, says that they formed a triangle. The location of these columns is determined fairly accurately by their proximity to Justinian's pillar and the Turkish water-tower[18]. This is corroborated by Buondelmonti who, coming from St. Sophia, encountered them between Justinian's column and the Hippodrome. The original destination of these columns is, however, much more difficult to establish. Two possible explanations may be offered. They may have been honorific columns supporting some of the numerous imperial statues known to have stood in the Augustaion and in the vicinity of the Milion[19], like the seven columns in front of the Basilica Julia in the Roman Forum. Alternately, they may have belonged to a triumphal arch (the Milion?). The so-called arch of Theodosius at the Forum Tauri had columns of almost equally colossal dimensions[20].

Appendix III

A Turkish Miniature of 1537—38

In addition to the three drawings already discussed (pp. 162 sq.), we may have a fourth representation of the church of Our Saviour of the Chalkê on a Turkish bird's eye view of Istanbul dated 1537—38 (fig. 34). This is found in a manuscript of the Library of the University of Istanbul, entitled "The Story of the Stages of the Expedition of Sultan Süleyman into the two Iraqs," fol. 8^{v}[1], and shows, above St. Sophia, a tall Byzantine church with a dome, two semi-domes and, presumably, a subsidiary dome, rising over a blind wall. It would be tempting to identify this church with Our Saviour of the Chalkê. We must, however, also consider another possibility, viz. whether this could not be an inaccurate representation of the Nea, Basil I's five-

[18] According to Mordtmann, *Esquisse topographique de Constantinople*, § 116. "une simple plaque de fer, qui ferme l'entrée d'une citerne" marks the position of Justinian's column.

[19] *Parastaseis*, 38, 65; *Patria*, 170; Suidas, s. v. Μίλιον.

[20] They were 1.25 m. in diameter and about 14 m. in height (*Second Report upon the Excavations carried out in and near the Hipodrome of Constantinople*, London, 1929, 38). It appears that more accurate dimensions are now available, but they have not been published.

[1] Albert Gabriel, "Les étapes d'une campagne dans les deux 'Irak," *Syria*, IX (1928), 328 sq., and pl. LXXV.

domed New Church, which certainly survived the Turkish conquest. The Nea may be seen on the picture of the Hippodrome first published by Panvinio[2] as well as on Vavassore's bird's eye view, of which several versions exist. The dating and interpretation of these views is, however, very difficult since their originals have not been preserved. At one time I expressed the opinion that Panvinio's view was later than 1490 because it shows Justinian's column without its equestrian statue[3]; now, according to the Nürnberg Chronicle, the column was struck by lightning in that year, and a picture illustrating this occurrence shows the equestrian statue being struck by lightning[4]. However, according to Angiolello, an eyewitness who remained in Constantinople as a captive from 1470 to 1482, the statue of "Saint Augustine" was removed by Mehmed II (d. 1481) at the instigation of his soothsayers who regarded this monument as a talisman of the Christians[5]. Consequently, Panvinio's drawing could be earlier than 1490. The bird's eye view attributed to Vavassore (after a signed copy at Nürnberg) seems to contain elements of the same period[6]. Its several published versions, however, were periodically brought up to date by the addition of new monuments, such as the imperial mosques, while ancient buildings that had meanwhile desappeared were not always eliminated. Hence it is difficult to say whether the Nea still existed in 1537. To the best of my knowledge, it is not mentioned by any traveller of this period. I should be noted that a Byzantine church situated near the Hippodrome, a church that had been converted into a gunpowder depot and was called by the Turks *Gün görmez kilisesi*, was struck by lightning in 1490 and blew up with such violence that many surrounding buildings were damaged. Its dome was projected high into the air, and the stones, according to some

[2] *De ludis circensibus*, Venice, 1600, 61, pl. R.

[3] REB, VII (1950), 182 n. 5.

[4] Hardtmann Schedel, *Chronicon*, Nürnberg, 1493, f. CCLVII[r].

[5] Jean Reinhard, *Essai sur J.-M. Angiolello* (Thèse, Fac. des Lettres, Clermont-Ferrand), Angers, 1913, 167. Cf. also Saad-uddin, "Description de la ville de Constantinople," *Journal asiatique*, V (1824), 145—46.

[6] The origin of this view, which has been reprinted many times, still remains obscure. See Oberhummer, "Constantinopolis", Pauly—Wissowa, IV (1901), 1011; *id.*, *Konstantinopel unter Sultan Suleiman dem Grossen*, Munich, 1902, 21—22. An old version of the same view, after the *Cosmographia universalis* of Sebastian Münster (Basel, 1552, p .1162) is reprinted by Sir William Stirling Maxwell, *The Turks in MDXXXIII*, London and Edinburg, 1873, 34, who lists several other versions (*ibid.*, 44 n. 4).

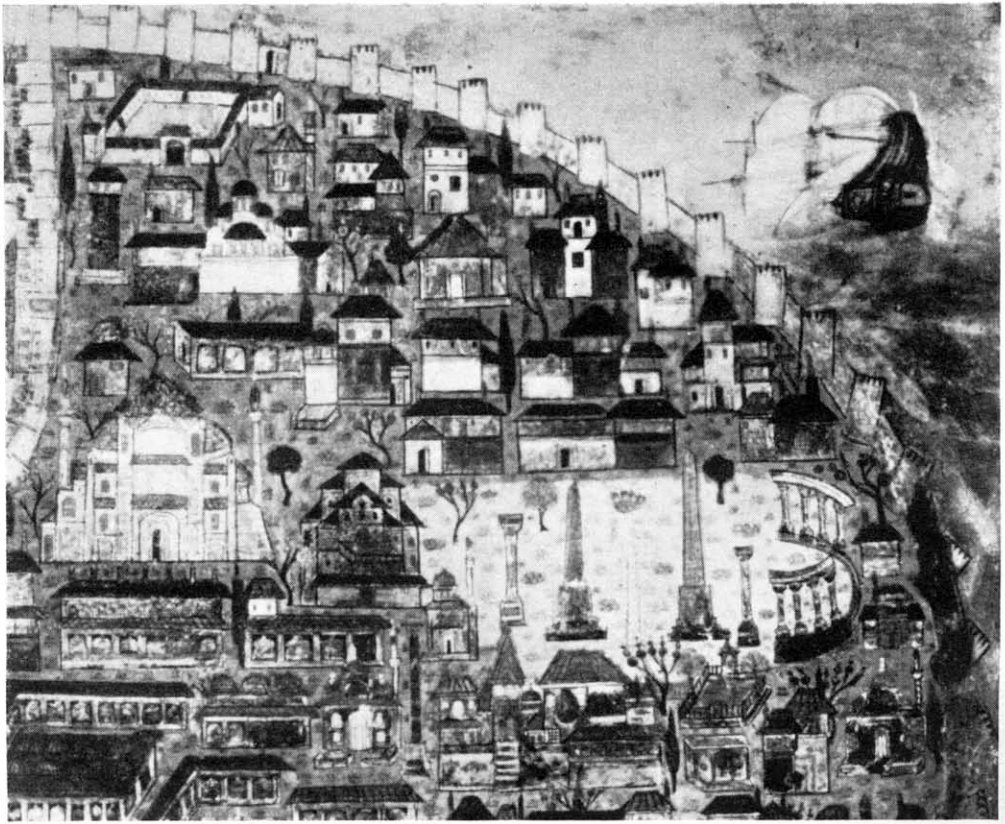

Fig. 34. Detail of Turkish view of Istanbul (1537—38). *Courtesy of the Byzantine Institute, Inc.*

Turkish sources, fell down on the Princes' Islands (!)[7]. The name *Gün görmez* ("that does not see the day," i. e. dark) is still applied to the district below the Sultan Ahmet mosque. If the *Gün görmez* church was the Nea, then it is probably the church of the Chalkê that figures on the miniature of 1537—38.

Appendix IV

by

† Ernest Mamboury

1. Fouilles de Ste-Sophie (4/XII/1939) Fig. 35.

A droite en entrant dans la cour de Ste-Sophie, se trouve un petit bâtiment rectangulaire à trois fenêtres qu'on a transformé en bureaux. Au moment de la construction d'une annexe pour les gardiens on a mis à jour derrière ce bâtiment quelques restes de murs byzantins.

En partant du baptistère, il y a un mur muni d'un quart d'arc s'appuyant contre un pilier de briques de 41 cm de longueur. Le mur avance de 55 cm sur une longueur de 2m95. Vient ensuite une porte de 1m30 avec une rainure verticale de 7 cm de largeur sur 6 de profondeur sur les faces intérieures à 50 cm de l'angle, qui devait être fermée par une barrière. Le mur continue encore sur 1m80, et avance à ce moment de 51 cm sur une longueur de 1m35. Puis un retrait de 29 cm, et on arrive à une base de marbre de 73 cm de long, portant quelques trous sur ses faces. Un retrait de 65 cm, et on arrive à un mur de 1m02 et une niche de 2m35 d'ouverture et de 1m24 de profondeur. Après la niche, un bloc de pierre en saillie termine les ruines. Un revêtement recouvre la conque et un dessin noir, lettres ou décor, apparaît par-ci par là. Le mur de la conque est constitué par une succession de lits d'une pierre enrobée de ciment et d'une ou deux briques, signe caractéristique du XIV^{e} ou du XV^{e} siècle. Le mortier est rosâtre avec de la poudre de brique et du sable. Cela peut évidemment être turc aussi bien que byzantin.

[7] The texts have been collected by İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *İstanbul Sarayları* Istanbul, 1943, 18—19, and by Schneider in BZ, 41 (1941), 389; cf. *id.* in *Arch. Anz.*, 1931, 302 n. 3, and 1943, 281 n. 1.

De nombreux fragments de plaques de marbre sont pêle mêle dans la niche. Les murs sortent d'environ 50 cm au-dessus du dallage qui mène à Ste-Sophie. La direction générale des murs est de 37° vers le N.—E.; depuis le mur en saillie elle est de 44°.

[*Later note*] La niche a été ouverte. Elle est constituée par six rangs d'une pierre, chaque rangée séparée par un lit de

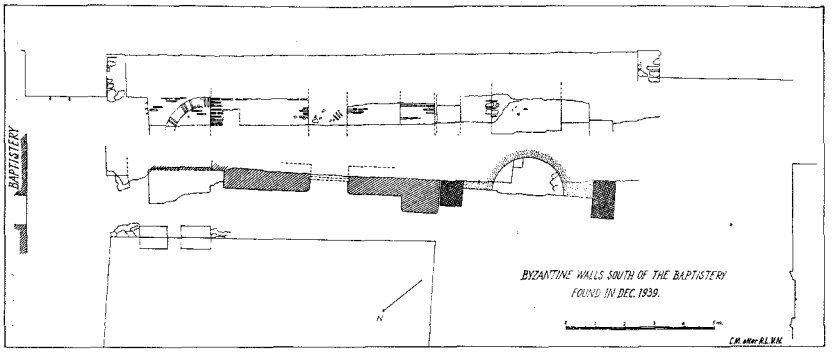

Fig. 35. Plan of excavations in the courtyard of St. Sophia (1939).

briques soutenus au-dessus ou au-dessous par de petits fragments de briques. Le sol, qui est à 1m35 du dallage du şadirvan au pied des colonnes, est encore dallé de marbre. Une couche de cendre et de charbon de 10 cm était sur le dallage dont les fragments ont été calcinés et réduits en chaux poudreux. Il y a eu donc ou incendie ou feu fait dans la conque. Sur la face arrondie du mur on voit des restes de revêtement de chaux portant quelques traces de fresques noires et rouges sur fond blanc. On distingue très bien une arcade dans le côté gauche de la conque. Avec l'évidement il est plus loisible d'étudier le monument. C'est un travail byzantin, et c'est une petite église, un oratoire construit au XIV^{e} ou XV^{e} siècle en dehors de Ste-Sophie, peut-être en dedans du portique détruit ou peut-être encore en arrière du portique. La grandeur de la niche, 2m35 d'ouverture et 1m24 de profondeur, montre que ce n'est pas un mihrab, puisque les mihrabs ne présentent jamais ces dimensions.

2. Canalisation pour le Palais de Justice (Septembre—Octobre 1952). Figs. 36, 37, 38.

Dans le courant des mois de Septembre et d'Octobre 1952 on a procédé à l'établissement de la canalisation des égoûts du nouveau Palais de Justice. A partir du bâtiment du Cadastre, le tracé suit le trottoir, passe par la rue transversale en face de la fontaine de l'empereur Guillaume à 1m30 du trottoir, oblique vers le Turbé de Sultan Ahmet, suit le tracé du trottoir à 1m30 dans la rue, et va se raccorder à la chambre de la canalisation générale de la ville à côté du Taksim qui se trouve au milieu de la place. La fouille avait une largeur de 1m30.

On a retrouvé un groupe de deux bases de colonnes, placées côte à côte à 30 cm, reposant sur un bloc de marbre de 43 cm d'épaisseur, placé sur le béton soutenant le dallage de marbre de 7 à 9 cm d'épaisseur. Le niveau du Plakoton était à cet endroit à 2m55 de profondeur par rapport au niveau actuel de la place. Un groupe semblable de deux bases, que j'avais pris autrefois comme appartenant peut-être au Milion, a été retrouvé en 1925. Il s'agit donc d'une série (?) dont on possède l'emplacement exact de deux groupes. Il est trop tôt pour émettre des suppositions; l'écartement des deux plaques de base étant de 6m50, on pourrait peut-être penser à une porte donnant sur la rue allant à l'Athyr. On n'a pas trouvé trace des deux égoûts parallèles qui remontent la rue Divanyolu et qui dans un mouvement absolument rectiligne allaient au Forum Bovis dans la vallée du Lykus.

D'après l'état des deux groupes de colonnes qui s'appuyaient contre un pilier de grès, on peut déduire qu'à l'époque de Justinien les colonnes disparurent et furent remplacées par un mur de brique, et le pilier de grès fut revêtu à l'arrière d'un autre mur de brique. Les murs de brique sont renforcés de lits de blocs de grès de 35 cm de hauteur, ce qui est caractéristique de l'époque de Justinien. Les briques sont de 35 × 37 × 4 cm, et 5 briques font de 37 à 39 cm de hauteur.

Le travail n'a pas livré de briques estampées. En face du premier regard on a mis au jour, à 1m20 de profondeur, un autre mur de l'époque de Justinien avec un bloc de grès de 23 cm intercalé dans la brique. Il se terminait par une saillie de

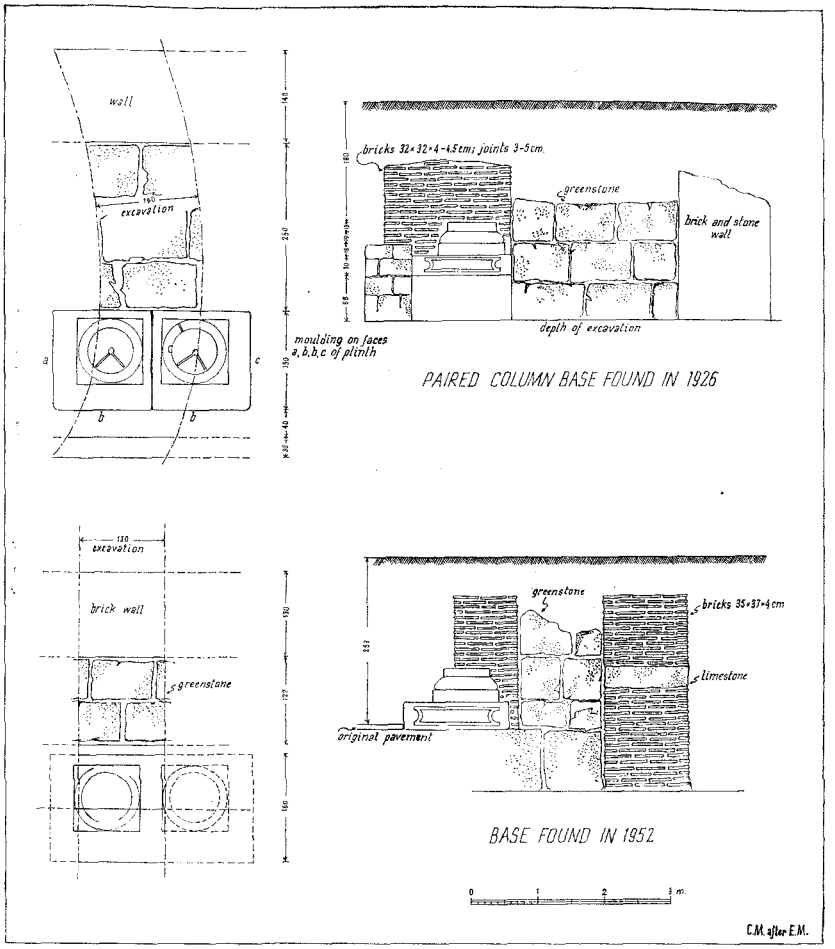

Fig. 36. Paired column-bases found in 1925 and 1952.

60 cm sur une longueur de 1m30. La fouille a rencontré ensuite le canal d'amenée d'eau à Sultan Ahmet, puis un mur à gros blocs à une profondeur de 1m60 avec une direction de 18° vers le N.—E.

Une série de murs turcs a été mise au jour; les premiers sont ceux d'une cuisine dallée avec deux "küp". Le dallage est à 1m80 de profondeur, le haut des murs à 30 cm. Ce sont des murs grossièrement construits et enduits de plâtre. Suit un troisième mur parallèle aux deux autres. Il est rattaché à d'autres

murs avec portes et égoût. Ces murs très épais, 1m10 à 1m30, reposent à 1m80 de profondeur sur une terre noire ancienne, pleine de racines d'arbres. Le mortier est de chaux et de rares morceaux de briques y sont mélangés. Ces murs sont de mauvaise construction avec des faces mal dressées; ils sont proches de la conquête, leur direction n'appartenant ni aux directions générales de l'Hippodrome, ni à celles de la Mésè ou de Ste-Sophie. Dans ces parages, où le creusement a été jusqu'à 3m80 on n'a pas retrouvé de mur byzantin sur une distance de 45 m, ce qui laisse supposer que l'on se trouve sur une place ancienne, vu que l'ancien niveau n'était qu'à 2m80.

Les murs qui suivent, dont un à épatement, sont byzantins dans les bases, surmontés de constructions du XV^e siècle. Un canal byzantin de 60 cm de largeur court parallèlement aux murs, puis change de direction en prenant celle de la fouille, et passe sous les massifs de briques. Le berceau du canal est en briques rayonnantes de 37 × 38 × 4.5 cm. Les murs byzantins ont servi de base aux murs turcs. Un arc de 1m70 est également turc ou byzantin tardif, mais plutôt turc. Il y avait dans ces parages un quartier turc incendié en 1913. C'est ce qui fait que même les dalles de marbre du Plakoton ont été arrachées.

Le canal vient buter contre un mur très ancien avec deux épatements latéraux de 80 cm en blocs de grès; le mur qui est en brique a 2m40 d'épaisseur, donc 4 m en tout. Il ressemble au mur précédent à épatement; plus tard, sur ce mur on a construit une vasque ronde dont on voit une portion d'arc de 3m55 avec une flèche de 1 m. Le sol de cette vasque, qui correspond à la hauteur de l'épatement du mur, est à 1m85 de profondeur, et les murs sont déjà visibles à 30 cm de profondeur.

Après cette vasque, la face extérieure d'une autre vasque, plus grande, est apparue dans la tranchée; cette face extérieure a pu être suivie, et après deux courbes rentrées et deux courbes sortantes sous le trottoir, elle arrive à un passage étroit, muni de deux marches, traversant un massif de maçonnerie de brique. Cette partie extérieure de la maçonnerie appartenait à une citerne, dont voici la preuve: 1° tous ces murs sont recouverts du revêtement habituel des citernes; 2° le raccord du bas des murs et du sol, qui est à une profondeur de 3m80, est arrondi comme dans les citernes; 3° un couloir étroit (et au moins deux à trois

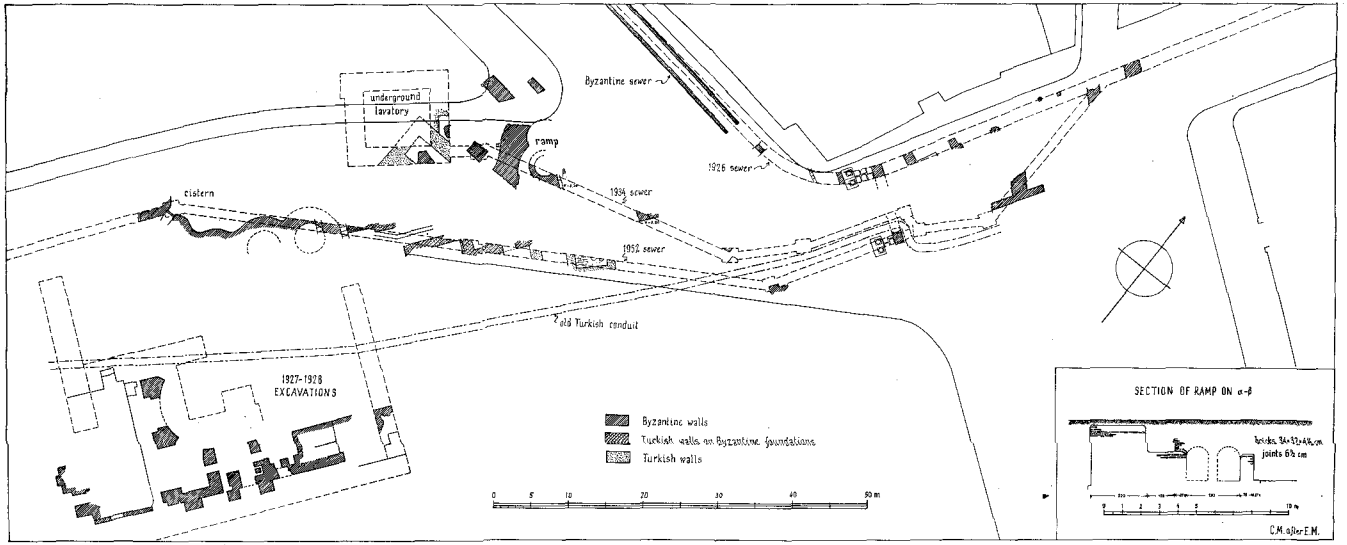

Fig. 37. Plan of the excavations of 1952.

marches) aboutissait au fond. Cette citerne s'étendait vers le jardin d'en face, sans qu'on puisse préciser davantage.

Le dernier mur de brique attenant au couloir est de 3m40 d'épaisseur. Les briques y sont de 32 × 33 × 5 cm. Ce mur est doublé d'un autre mur en briques de 38 × 37 × 4.5 cm et d'un revêtement de blocs de 30 cm d'épaisseur. Le deuxième mur et le revêtement sont plus tardifs.

Plus loin, de gros fragments de maçonnerie de brique sont épars dans les terres, mais je n'ai plus rencontré de mur byzantin. J'espérais retrouver les traces de l'édifice des Carcères, ce qui aurait donné la deuxième dimension exacte de l'Hippodrome, mais j'ai été déçu. Il y a deux raisons à cela: 1° la fouille entre le Turbé de Sultan Ahmet et la fontaine de l'empereur Guillaume n'avait plus que 3 m, puis 2m60 de profondeur, alors que le niveau de la piste de l'Hippodrome est à plus de 4 m; 2° dans toute cette partie du tracé on voit des étages successifs horizontaux formés par des éclats de marbre et de pierre taillés ou retaillés. Sur le dessin de Panvinio on voit encore l'édifice des Carcères, mais il a disparu par la suite. On doit convenir que la construction de la mosquée Sultan Ahmet a été funeste à tous les restes byzantins des environs. Les Carcères furent détruits jusque dans le sous-sol de l'Hippodrome pour en retirer les matériaux qui furent taillés sur place, d'où ces lits de fragments de marbre et de pierre et ces amas de gravats et de mortier. Déjà lors de la construction de la fontaine de l'empereur Guillaume on n'avait rien retrouvé; aujourd'hui la raison en devient évidente.

Conclusions:

Les vasques et la citerne retrouvées appartiennent sans aucun doute aux bains de Zeuxippe; sur le plan elles viennent se placer dans le prolongement des fouilles anglaises. Donc, le bain était bien en retrait de la Mésè, ce qui laisse supposer que le Milion était placé au devant du Zeuxippe. Les deux murs épais doivent appartenir à Byzance d'avant Septime Sévère du fait que les vasques sont construites au-dessus d'eux.

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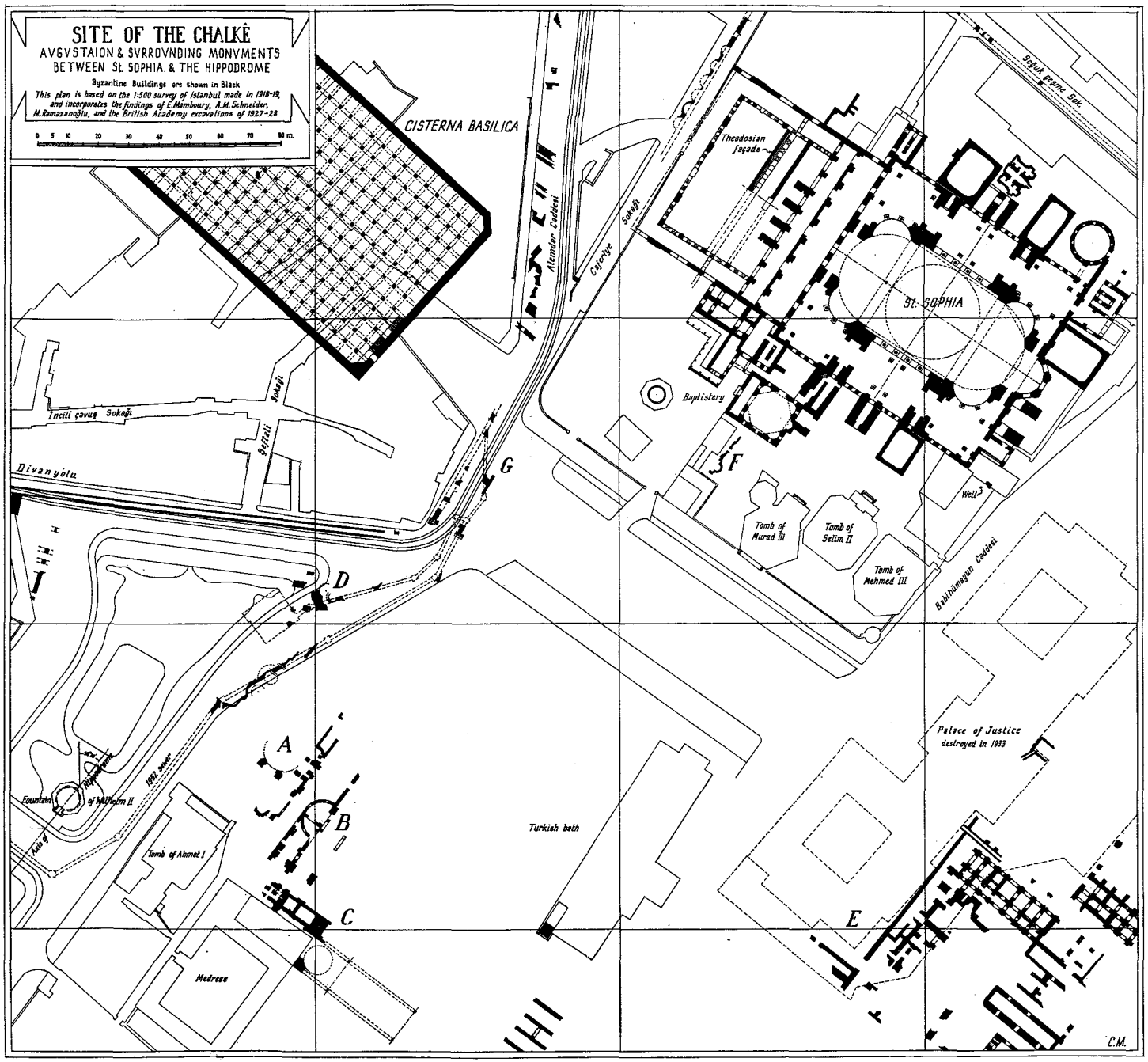

Fig. 38. General plan of area covered by this study.

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